DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 471 354 JC 030 024

AUTHOR	Cohen, Arhur M.
TITLE	Miami-Dade Junior College: A Study in Racial Integration.
PUB DATE	1964-08-00
NOTE	136p.; Ph.D. Dissertation, Florida State University. Contains blurred text and light type.
PUB TYPE	Dissertations/Theses - Doctoral Dissertations (041)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Administrative Organization; *Case Studies; College Desegregation; *Community Colleges; Educational History; Educational Planning; Educational Policy; Governance; *Policy Formation; Racial Composition; *Racial Integration; Two Year Colleges

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the progress of racial integration at Miami-Dade Junior College in Dade County, Florida, from the years 1957-1964. Chapter 1 introduces the study and discusses the organization of Miami-Dade Junior College while relating administrative behavior and communication systems to the phased racial integration of the college. Chapter 2 examines the demographic characteristics of Miami and Dade County and reviews the history of racial desegregation in southern colleges and universities. Chapter 3 focuses on the founding of Miami-Dade Junior College, including the politics between state and local school board officials and the initial plan to design a two-campus, single-college structure in order to accomplish phased racial integration. In Chapter 4, the study reveals how Dade County school officials abandoned the idea of designing a two-campus, single-college system for fear of perpetuating racial segregation. This chapter examines how school officials established a single college with two centers, which were combined into one campus between 1957 and 1960. Chapter 5 discusses the details of the integration of the college, including issues of management, academic programming, and academic outcomes. The document concludes with an examination into the policy formation, administrative procedure, and communication systems for the full integration of Miami-Dade Junior College. (Contains 110 references.) (ND)

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ED 471 354

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

MIAMI-DADE JUNIOR COLLEGE: A STUDY IN RACIAL INTEGRATION

By
ARTHUR M. COHEN

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate School of
Florida State University in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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JC030024

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many contributed to the preparation of this study: Thelma Altshuler, Herbert Blinn, and Carol Zion aided in the collection of data; Southern Regional Council, Inc. granted a sum which helped purchase necessary supplies; my major professor, Raymond E. Schultz, and the other members of my supervisory committee were generous with suggestions, help, instruction and time.

The encouragement, confidence, and devotion, of my wife, Barbara, were inspiration.

All of the persons whom the writer contacted in the Dade County school system were courteous in granting interviews. Much credit is due to the members of the Dade County Board of Public Instruction and of the Miami-Dade Junior College administrative staff. The study could not have been accomplished without their cooperation.

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible] Pyle must be singled out for especial recognition. Their foresight made integration at the junior college a reality and it is they to whom the study is dedicated.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of policy formulation and communication procedure in a public school system. The organization and first two years of operation of Miami-Dade Junior College was selected as a focal point for the study because of the several unique characteristics which were present in the planning of that institution. Each of the many decisions that was made by the Dade County School Board, the Junior College Advisory Board, the administrative staff of the Board of Public Instruction, and the junior college staff was separately considered. Each was designed to further the overall general purpose. This purpose was the opening and growth of a junior college designed to provide educational opportunity beyond the high school for all of the people of Dade County.

Establishing a public junior college is a task involving many policy decisions by public administrative bodies. Determination of area need, campus location, means of support, selection of personnel and of curriculum all must be undertaken in advance of the opening date. The first few years of operation often include the necessity of modifying or reversing many of the original decisions. Problems of establishing a college are accentuated in a large metropolitan area for the potentiality of great numbers of students dictates that facilities be made available for rapid growth. Decisions are further complicated when the issue of racial integration is at hand, as it is in the South. All these conditions were present in the case of the establishment of Miami-Dade Junior College.[1]

Prior to the opening of Miami-Dade Junior College in the Fall of 1960, there was no public institution of higher education in the vicinity of Miami, Florida. The 1960 census, concluded a few months before the opening of the college, revealed that almost one million people were living in Dade County which encompasses the city of Miami and the surrounding metropolitan areas.[2] The nearest public junior college was sixty miles away; the nearest unit of the state university system, three hundred fifty miles distant. Miami was thus among the few large metropolitan areas in the United States in which a publicly-supported institution of higher education was completely lacking. In addition, a large segment of Miami's population was denied any opportunity for local higher education: there was no college in the area which would admit Negro students.[3]

The growth rate of the junior college was phenomenal. By the beginning of the fourth year of operation of the college, from an initial enrollment of 1,438,[4] the student body had expanded to include

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[1] The name Miami-Dade Junior College will be used throughout this study even though the name of the college during its first two years was Dade County Junior College. The name change was made in 1963.

[2] U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (82nd ed.: Washington, D. C., 1961).

[3] The University of Miami accepted its first Negro student in the 1961 Summer Session (Letter from Jay F. W. Pearson, Chancellor, University of Miami, February 11, 1964).

[4] Dade County Junior College, "Enrollment Report, October, 1962" (in the office of the Dean of Student Personnel, Miami-Dade Junior College).

12,583 students.[1] Miami-Dade Junior College had, in this brief period of time, become the largest junior college in the state of Florida and one of the largest in the nation.

A unique feature of Miami-Dade Junior College at the time it opened was its two-campus plan. Organization of the college provided that one president head a single administrative staff but that college classes be held on separate campuses, one for white and one for Negro students. In the history of American higher education, there have been colleges opened as racially-integrated or as racially-segregated institutions, but prior to the opening of Miami-Dade Junior College there had never been a college established from the outset in a one-college, two-campus pattern. The success of the Dade County plan has led to the establishment of similar patterns in other districts operating junior colleges in Florida. It appears improbable that separate public colleges for white and Negro students will again be opened in the state.[2]

Purpose of the Study

A case study can be used to assess the nature of a complex educational organization. An intensive case analysis serves several purposes. It cuts across disciplinary lines and presents something of value to investigators in several branches of the social sciences. From a purely historical point of view, it is well to record the story of the establishment and first years of operation of a college. The reasons for many of the decisions made in the establishment of a college are not written and must be chronicled while they are still fresh in the minds of those who made them. A case study is at least a chronological narrative that portrays how officials were involved in the making of these governmental decisions.

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[1] Florida State Board of Education, Division of Community Junior College, "Report of Enrollment, Florida Junior Colleges, 1963-1964" (in the Division files, Tallahassee). (Mimeographed.)

[2] The Lake-Sumter junior college district organized separate colleges in 1962. This is the only district which has opened separate colleges since 1960.

Such a study can also serve as a model in public administration. Public law by itself is insufficient for an analysis of the ways in which educational policies are determined. A study of the type here proposed can show what influences, official and unofficial, are brought to bear on those who are empowered to make the necessary policy commitments and operational decisions.

Decisions made in public educational administration have a special character of their own. Educational administrators are influenced by a variety of factors. They must adjust effectively to a complex group of forces--individuals, private associations, and county and state governments. A more intimate acquaintance with the laborious processes by which decisions are made in public education could lead to more balanced judgments on how governments make decisions in other areas.[1]

History, political science, administrative procedure, and educational policy will be integrated within the scope of the study. The study may add to the eventual possibility of generating hypotheses about administrative behavior. It is not likely to yield immediate predictions or forecast probability of similar decisions being taken in other circumstances. There is, however, historical value in preserving materials concerning a "little decision" which might otherwise be lost.[1]

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[1] Herbert J. Storing, "The Science of Administration," *Essays on the Scientific Study of Politics,* Edited by Herbert J. Storing. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1962), p. 68.

Concepts

There are three clearly distinguishable conceptual bases from one or more of which all studies of organizational behavior begin. There are, first, those dealing with the relatively pure structure of organization, responsibility, and communication links. Concepts drawn from the area of psychology are at the other extreme. These include theories concentrating on the behavior of individuals functioning within groups and deal with analysis of motive, individual activities, preferences, sentiments, predispositions, and personal reactions to problems of choice. The third group of concepts are those which take their place at some point between the first two; these are concerned with interaction and conflict between the perceptions of the individual and the goals of the organization. Analysis of process in the school system which was involved in the founding of Miami-Dade Junior College will be examined for the purpose of determining what intra-organizational actions led to certain decisions. The group of concepts from which the analysis of the decisions will be drawn will be those dealing with organizational structure.

A basic tenet of organizational behavior states that a clear definition of purpose by a policy-making body is necessary in order that optimal behavior toward desired goals be effected in affiliated administrative bodies. Decisions made by staff members will not be likely to further uniform progress toward the overall goal unless this goal is clearly defined. Policy makers must develop a plan of behavior for all the members of the group consisting not of a set of individual plans for each member but of one general purpose to which all members can subscribe.

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[1] Edwin A. Bock (ed.), *Essays on the Case Method* (New York: International Institute of Administrative Sciences, 1962).

Although they agree that a plan of behavior must be developed, writers in the area of administrative theory are not in agreement as to the procedure to be followed in developing such a plan. O. E. Hill stated that the community must be informed of school board policy if a "positive climate for decision-making" and "constructive policy formulation" are to result.[1] He believed that, in order to constructively channel community involvement in the schools, those charged with school administration must keep the community informed and work with it step by step in policy formulation.

Other writers have stated that the division between "policy-making body" and "administration" is not so well defined that functions of each can clearly be separated. The legislative body makes factual judgments and must have access to information from the administrative body; the administrative agency must be responsive to community values. The policy-making body need not present all alternatives either to its staff or to the community because of "political reasons" on the one hand and because of the possibility of the administrator's having "his own very definite set of personal values that he would like to see implemented by his administrative organization" and his subsequent resisting of attempts by the legislative body to assume completely the function of policy determination on the other.[1] Thus, in many cases it might be preferable that the manner in which policy was determined and the alternatives which were considered should not be communicated to the members. The difference is between those who hold that policy must be determined "democratically" and others who feel that method of determination is much less important than other factors in examination of the method of decision-making in formal organizations.

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[1] O. E. Hill, "Research in Educational Administration--Is It Relevant?," Administrative Theory as a Guide to Action, ed. Roald F. Campbell and James M. Lipham (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, 1960), p. 163.

A second basic tenet holds that the relevant portions of the formulated policy must be communicated to each subordinate member of the organization whose role might, on occasion, be that of decision-maker. Administrators at all levels are constantly making choices. Whether they realize it or not, they are acting from a frame of reference--from a basis of concepts regarding consequences of their choices.[2] This is not to say that the method of arriving at the policy need be discussed with all but that the policy, when finally determined, must be clearly in the minds of personnel at all levels. The group of organization members who formulated the direction which they felt the group must take cannot be consulted on all matters. If they wish lesser decisions to lead the organization in the direction of the desired goal, they must be certain that all personnel are aware of that direction.

The fact that awareness of the goal must be present in all members is not lessened by the possibility that policy-makers may not be willing for various reasons to communicate this purpose through formal channels. Communication may, and often does, proceed along informal organizational links. The more clearly the policy is known, the greater the likelihood of cooperation in advancing the organization toward its goals. Related literature reveals general agreement with this postulate. Simon stated, "No step in the administrative process is more generally ignored, or more poorly performed, than the task of communicating decisions, yet none is more important."[1]

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[1] Herbert A. Simon, *Administrative Behavior* (2d ed.; New York: Macmillan Company, 1957), pp. 57-59.

[2] Arthur P. Coladarci and Jacob W. Getzels, *The Use of Theory in Educational Administration* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1955).

The third necessity for effective administrative procedure is a willingness on the part of the individual members to permit their behavior to be guided by the plan. Each member must be willing to make his operational decisions coincide with the plan. Individuals working in an organization will participate if their individual preferences can be brought into coincidence with organization goals. This can be accomplished if at least one of the following rewards is available: personal gratification deriving from the accomplishment of the organization objectives; inducements offered by the organization; or pride in growth of the organization itself.[2] To state it further: personal preferences deriving from the background of the individual member may coincide with organizational objectives; personal inducements, financial and otherwise, may cause the member to act in accordance with general policy even if this is not exactly in accordance with his own preferences; an individual may be induced to work in accordance with policy if he feels that growth of the organization will thus be enhanced. In the latter case, the individual accepts organizational goals as his own.[1] The administrator must expect that occasionally there may be conflict between policy and individual preferences of certain members. His duties include the necessity of his taking steps to insure that organizational goals are not thwarted thereby.

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[1] Simon, p. 108. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

Scope

The concepts regarding the value of democratic or of authoritarian methods of policy formulation offer questions to which this study will relate. The county board of public instruction in the Florida system of public instruction is elected by the citizens of the county and functions as policy maker for the school system. Carmichael and James have taken the position that, in matters dealing with racial integration, school board policy formulation should be determined democratically.[2] They reveal that in Louisville, Kentucky, the decision to desegregate the public school system was made with the full knowledge and cooperation of the community and of the administration and faculty of the schools concerned. Each step in the plan to admit Negroes to schools formerly limited to white students was fully publicized and leaders of civic organizations and religious groups were asked to help formulate details of the plan. They attribute the orderly desegregation of

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[1] Storing, p. 94.

[2] Omer Carmichael and Weldon James, *The Louisville Story* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957).

Louisville schools to this "democratic" method of policy formulation.[1]

Williams and Ryan collected case studies of desegregation policy formulations and procedures in several communities in the northern and western United States.[2] Several ways of arriving at policy are revealed in these studies. In Cincinnati, the "redirection of the school system was brought about with virtually no publicity."[3] The administrative staff of the school system favored change and the board did not disapprove; thus, initiation arose from the staff. In Cairo, Illinois, too, "There was no advance preparation . . . the attitude of the administration was that it should not be discussed and should be handled as quietly as possible."[4] In other communities, as had been the case in Louisville, full publicity was accorded the plan. In New Jersey, two patterns appeared: in some systems the board asked the community to participate in formulation of desegregation plans; in others, the board established policy without such external cooperation.

This study examines the method of determination of policy for the junior college opened in Dade County in 1960. The extent to which the Dade County School Board consulted community groups in its determination of the two-campus plan is a part of this study. The influence of the Citizens Advisory Committee, the Junior College Advisory Board, the School Board's Administrative Staff, and the School Board itself, on the plans for the college is examined. Williams' and Carmichael's studies are most concerned with school system--community interaction in the desegregation process; this study is primarily concerned with the chain of responsibility within the school system itself.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

[2] Robin M. Williams, Jr. and Margaret W. Ryan (eds.), *Schools in Transition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 41. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

In all cases examined in *Schools in Transition*, where the boards took an indefinite stand or where there were weak links in the chain of communication to administrators, confusion, opposition, and mistrust was the result. This apparent consistency led the authors to summarize,

> A clear definition of law and policy by legitimate social authorities may reinforce willingness to conform to the requirements of new situations. Persons coming into an unfamiliar situation, such as that experienced in initial desegregation, will be unusually sensitive to cues as to what is the appropriate and acceptable behavior. Hence the great importance of clarity and decisiveness in early policy and practice in the desegregation process cannot be overemphasized.[1]

The current study examines the manner and method of policy communication within the Dade County school system. It is concerned with whether school board policy was clearly communicated to administrators at all levels. The communications network within the school system is studied for the purpose of determining which links were most important in the furtherance and expansion of the phased integration plans as they developed. A communications lag can lead to difficulty in the desegregation process. The school board must remain aware of uncertainty at lower levels of the system so that necessary policy adjustments can be made. The means and extent of upward communication from the junior college to the Dade County School Board is examined in this study for the purpose of determining whether the two way flow of communication in the Dade County system remained opened at all times.

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[1] *Ibid.*

The current study is related to the concept which states that effective organizational action is dependent upon cooperation by all members in furthering organizational goals. This concept states further that top administrators should take steps to protect against having organizational goals thwarted by uncooperative individuals. This principle is related to the study only to the point at which operational decisions can be shown to enhance or to hinder general policy. This study does not attempt to determine psychological basis of individual cooperation but attempts only to determine how persons in key positions in the Dade County system helped to advance or to hinder the development of the junior college. H. W. Schooling stated, "The administrator cannot compel the kind of satisfaction that comes from the achievement of organizational goals through the exercise of authority derived from his status position."[1] The implication is that cooperation can best be achieved by allowing all members a voice in determining organizational goals. This study will trace the extent to which the junior college staff and faculty shared in aiding formulation of general policy in the phased integration plans.

Francis Chase stated, "The best external stimulse [upon the staff member] of all may well be those which enable members of the organization to understand the goals of the organization in their full significance

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[1] H. W. Schooling, "Research in Internal Administration--Is It Relevant?," Administrative Theory as a Guide to Action, ed. Roald F. Campbell and James E. Lipham (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, 1960), p. 140.

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[and] the means chosen toward goal realization."[1] The goal in the Dade County school system was a single junior college which would provide educational opportunity for all residents of the county. The college, although it was opened on two campuses, was eventually to be fully integrated. This study will show that all persons in the Dade County school system who were in position to advance or to hinder the eventual integration of the junior college were clearly aware of this goal from the time of its inception or from the beginning of their employment, whichever came first. It will further show that "the means chosen" to achieve complete racial integration of the college were not clearly established at the start but were formulated and communicated during the course of the first two years of its operation.

Limitations

Not all of the seperate decisions relating to the establishment of the college are analyzed in this study. Only the formulation and communication of the policy relating to the two campus plan, the gradual racial integration of the college, and the eventual combination of the centers on a new campus are covered. Curriculum formulation, determination of area need, means of support, and assessment of community interest in the college are not a part of this study. Community reaction to the phased integration plans is examined only in so far as it affected administrative procedure at the college. Backgrounds and previous experience of School Board members, Junior College Advisory Board members, County Administrative Staff, or Dade County Junior College staff members are not considered.

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[1] Francis S. Chase, "The Administrator as Implementer of the Goals of Education for Our Time," *Administrative Theory as a Guide to Action*, ed. Roald F. Campbell and James M. Lipham (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, 1960), p. 195.

Terms

The Citizens Advisory Committee is a group formed in Florida counties to determine need for community college facilities in specific areas. A committee is formed by the school board in each school district in which a junior college is being planned. The committee serves also to publicize the need for the college and to gain support for it in the community. It is disbanded after approval for the organization of a junior college is obtained from the State Department of Education.

The Junior College Advisory Committee is a five-man lay board which serves to advise the county board of public instruction on matters pertaining to the operation of the junior college.

The following appellations are used in this study:

(a) the Dade County Board of Public Instruction is referred to as the School Board, or simply the Board;

(b) the Dade County Board of Public Instruction administrative staff is called the County Administrative Staff;

(c) the Dade County Junior College group of administrators is called the college staff or, in instances where they acted as a body, the Administrative Cabinet;

(d) in order to avoid confusion with the Citizens Advisory Committee, the Dade County Junior College Advisory Committee is called the Advisory Board.

Organization

The study begins in Chapter II with an examination of some of the features of Dade County. This is undertaken in order to justify the assumption that Metropolitan Miami is unique in many ways among Florida communities.

The extent of racial integration in public colleges and universities in the South follows. Particular emphasis is given to the status of integration in Florida public schools at the time plans were being made for the opening of Miami-Dade Junior College (1957-1960). The first attempt at desegregating a public elementary school in Miami is examined.

Chapter III chronicles the initial attempt of Dade County to receive state authorization to organize a junior college.

The initiation and progress of the two-campus plan follows in Chapter IV. Reasons for organization of the college under a single administrative head are detailed.

Upon the opening of the college, resolution of certain problems occasioned by the unique nature of the two-campus plan was necessary. The phased integration of white and Negro students and faculty members on the campuses is considered in Chapter V.

Included in Chapter VI is notation of the method by which the new campus was obtained. The decisions to close the center for Negro students and to bring them and the Negro faculty to the new campus are detailed. A brief note on the present status of the college follows.

Chapter VII relates the concepts of administrative procedure to the methods employed in the Dade County system. Communication linkages in each of the steps in the phased integration plans are examined.

Summary

Chapter I has introduced the study by stating the purposes and scope of the work. The purposes are to examine the method of organization of Miami-Dade Junior College and to relate the method to certain concepts of administrative behavior. The scope limits the study to examination of the intra-organizational actions and communications system which facilitated the phased integration at the junior college.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUNDS

Dade County

Dade County is located on the southeastern tip of the Florida mainland. Both in land area and in population, it is the largest county in Florida.[1] Its attraction as a residential area lies in its subtropical climate of warm temperatures and minimal seasonal weather fluctuation. The City of Miami, county seat of Dade County and the heart of South Florida, has long been famed as a resort area and as a port of embarkation to Cuba and the islands of the Caribbean.

The population growth of Dade County has been phenomenal.[2] In 1920 the entire population of what was then a collection of farming and fishing villages included 29,983 white persons and 12,770 Negroes.[3] In response to publicity accorded South Florida as a winter resort, a great wave of migration into the area began in the 1920's. People from every state and from many foreign countries moved into Miami to contribute to an expansion in population which continued through 1960. In the decade preceding the latter year, the population increased by eighty-nine per cent to 935,047.[1] Dade County's population is more than double that of Duval County, Florida's second most populous county.[2] Between the end of World War II and the year 1958, the Miami area population grew at a rate of about 7.1 per cent per year.[3]

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[1] World Atlas (Maplewood, N. J.: C. S. Hammond and Co., 1955).

[2] Unless otherwise noted, statistics in this section refer to the years 1958 to 1960, the period when Miami-Dade Junior College was being planned.

[3] Economic Survey of Metropolitan Miami (Miami: Dade County Development Department, 1959), sec. 23, p. 4.

Metropolitan Miami is a cosmopolitan community, typical neither of Florida nor of the South. Twelve per cent of the total population is foreign born, a higher percentage of non-native Americans than may be found in any other metropolitan area in the southeastern United States.[4] The city also differs markedly from other large southern cities in that less than 15 per cent of its population is classified as being Negro.[5] Population is largely in the middle age range; only 31 per cent of the people of Miami are under the age of 20 years and only eight per cent are more than 65 years old. The national averages of persons in these age groups are 35 per cent and 8.5 per cent respectively.[6] Dade is, next to Broward, the most urbanized county in the state with 95.6 per cent of its people living in cities.[7]

Metropolitan Miami led all Florida counties in number of new or expended industrial plants in the years 1957-1961; in those five years, 1,286 new manufacturing plants moved into Dade County creating 28,540 new jobs.[1] The city has a large pool of skilled labor available for work in manufacturing industries. It attracts new businesses on that basis and also because of the fact that it is near the top of the list of the nation's great metropolitan markets in purchasing power.

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[1] Statistical Abstract of Florida (Tallahassee: The Council on Economic Development, 1962), p. 6.

[2] Ibid., p. 18.

[3] Economic Survey of Metropolitan Miami, sec. 23, p. 3.

[4] Statistical Abstract of Florida, p. 29.

[5] Economic Survey of Metropolitan Miami, sec. 23, p. 2.

[6] Ibid., sec. 23, p. 1.

[7] Statistical Abstract of Florida, p. 19.

Miami is the center of a marketing area of 1,659,801 people.[2] It is third in retail purchases per family and first in buying income per family among all marketing areas in the United States.[3] Per capita income is $2,344, highest in the state except for sparsely populated Hendry County.[4] There is one automobile registered in Dade County for each 1.75 persons--one of the highest per capita registration rates in the United States.[5]

The great population growth of Miami naturally stimulated wide expansion of the public schools. The Dade County system, in 1957, had the highest percentage increase in enrollment over 1956 among the forty-eight largest cities in the United States.[6] In September, 1958, public school enrollment was approximately 146,000 students, 125 per cent more than were enrolled in 1950.[7] School population had reached 161,000 by the time the junior college was opened in 1960.

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[1] Ibid., p. 156.

[2] Ibid., p. 19.

[3] Economic Survey of Metropolitan Miami, sec. 21, p. 1.

[4] Statistical Abstract of Florida, p. 38.

[5] Economic Survey of Metropolitan Miami, sec. 21, p. 6.

[6] Ibid., sec. 7, p. 1. [7] Ibid., sec. 7, p. 2.

In elections for state and national offices, Dade County traditionally gives majorities to Democratic candidates. In 1960, when Republican presidential nominee Richard Nixon captured Florida's electoral vote with 51.5 per cent of the popular vote, Dade gave 57.7 per cent of its total to John F. Kennedy--a 50,000 vote majority.[1]

Political representatives who have been elected to serve Dade County in the Florida Legislature and in the United States Congress in the years since World War II have not been uniformly atypical of Southern politicians but many have taken actions which were in direct opposition to measures championed by a majority of their fellows. The pupil assignment law of 1956, designed to preserve racial segregation in the public schools, failed unanimous adoption in the Florida Legislature because of a dissenting vote cast by Representative John B. Orr, Jr. of Dade County.[2] Dante Fascell of the Florida Fourth Congressional District (Dade County) was the only representative from the state who declined to sign the Southern Manifesto, a petition denouncing Federal interference with state rights on the matter of school segregation which was read on the floor of United States Senate in March, 1956.[3]

The Negro community in Miami is "unlike Negro communities in other parts of the South."[4] In contrast to their counterparts in the rest of the state, Miami Negroes "went to the polls in large numbers in 1939 following the repeal of the poll tax in 1937."[1] Much progress in racial integration of public and private facilities was made in the post-war period without the overt demonstrations which took place in other cities. Miami Negroes have enjoyed a militant but enlightened leadership which has "raised questions that other [Negro] people wouldn't dare raise."[2]

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[1] Annie Mary Hartsfield and Elston E. Roady, Florida Votes, 1920-1962 (Tallahassee: Institute of Governmental Research, The Florida State University, 1963), p. 33.

[2] Southern School News, Vol. III (September, 1956).

[3] Time, LXVII (March 26, 1956), 25. Southern School News, Vol. III (November, 1956).

[4] Interview with Theodore Gibson, President, Miami Chapter, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, February 9, 1964.

The great influx of people into Dade County contributed to a heterogeneity of population not to be found anywhere else in the South. The number of persons living in Miami whose families might be traced back within the city for more than one generation is indeed small. Due largely to the "newness" of the city, it is difficult for policy makers at local governmental levels to determine community desires or to gain advance community support for plans dealing with controversial issues. There is, in Dade County, apparently no "power structure" which must be consulted before action can be successfully undertaken by governmental action.[3] Awareness of facets of Dade County which make it unique among Florida counties tends to cause elected officials to disregard measures passed in other areas of the state. As a case in point, members of the

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[1] Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (20th Anniversary Edition; New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 482.

[2] Gibson interview.

[3] Particular mention of Dade County's heterogeneity was made by the following persons interviewed in connection with this study: members of the Dade County Board of Public Instruction Jack Gordon, January 3, 1964, and Anna Brenner Meyers, December 23, 1963; former Associate Superintendent of Education Wesley W. Matthews, January 2, 1964; and Mitchell Wolfson, member of the Miami-Dade Junior College Advisory Board, December 26, 1963.

Dade County School Board were apparently not aware, at the time they were planning Miami-Dade Junior College, that all other public junior college districts in the state had either organized colleges for white students only or had organized two separate institutions, one for white and one for Negro students.[1]

Racial Integration in Southern Colleges and Universities

A trend toward racial integration in publicly-supported institutions of higher education in the South was apparent for many years prior to the Brown v. Board of Education decision in 1954.[2] The system of "separate but equal" schools had been given its first great national blow in 1938 in the case of Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada.[3] Prior to 1937 there was no graduate or professional instruction available to Negroes in any state-supported college in the Southern region although increasing high school and undergraduate enrollments in the 1930's and 1940's had created a genuine pressure for higher educational facilities for Negroes. The Gaines v. Canada decision took cognizance of this rising demand by stating that if a state provides a law school for its white citizens, it must provide an equally good one for its Negro citizens or admit them to the white school.[1]

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[1] Substantiated by interviews with the following persons who were members of the Dade County School Board of Public Instruction at the time of organization of the junior college (1957-1960): Robert Butler, January 2, 1964, Anna Brenner Meyers, Jane Roberts, December 31, 1963, and C. Raymond Van Dusen, January 6, 1964.

[2] Harry S. Ashmore, The Negro in the Schools (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954).

[3] U. S. Supreme Court Reporter, 305 U.S. 337 (1938).

A second landmark case in higher education was Sweatt v. Painter, 1950.[2] In ordering the University of Texas Law School to admit a Negro applicant even though Texas maintained a law school for Negroes, the United States Supreme Court ruled, in effect, that no separate law school could be considered equal.[3] The Court held that there were many intangible benefits accruing to a student, many of which could not be measured by a quantitative count of library books or classrooms. These benefits included reputation of the faculty, influence of the alumni, tradition, prestige, and the opportunity of association with at least eighty-five per cent of the future lawyers and judges of the state.[4] The question of segregation within a single institution serving both Negro and white students was resolved in a case argued and decided concurrently with Sweatt v. Painter. In McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, the University of Oklahoma Graduate School was ordered to end all segregated treatment of a Negro student.[5]

From these two cases it was but a short step to the further-reaching case of Brown v. Board of Education in 1954.[6] The higher education cases specifically ruled out segregation in graduate and professional training on the grounds that there were many qualitative factors present in racially-integrated schools which obviated the possibility of equality in separate schools. Brown v. Board of Education in effect extended these rulings to public schools at any level. One year later, the Supreme Court, after hearing arguments by southern states attorneys general, clarified its ruling by stating that public school integration need not take place immediately but could be undertaken gradually.[1]

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[1] Southern Regional Council, "Chronology of Principal Cases on Segregation," New South, XIV, 10 (October, 1959), 8-13.

[2] 339 U.S. 629 (1950).

[3] Southern Regional Council, p. 11.

[4] 339 U.S. 629 (1950), p. 629ff.

[5] Ibid., p. 637.

[6] 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

Prior to the 1954 decision, administrators at several institutions had acted to make college level education available to Negroes. In 1947, the University of Arkansas Board of Trustees voluntarily took the position that qualified Negro applicants would be admitted to courses not offered by the state-supported Negro college.[2] Similar action had been taken by the University of North Carolina following the Gaines case.[3] Negro graduate students were admitted to universities in Virginia, Louisiana, and Texas in 1950 and to universities in North Carolina in 1951 on a more or less voluntary basis by the institutions concerned without interference from the state boards of education.[4] The University of Louisville was operating separate campuses for white and Negro students but merged its facilities in 1951.[5] Graduate schools at the College of

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[1] 349 U.S. 294 (1955).

[2] A. S. Stephan, "Desegregation of Higher Education in Arkansas," Journal of Negro Education, XXVII, Part 3 (Summer, 1958), 244.

[3] The School Segregation Decision (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Institute of Government, 1954), p. 24.

[4] Don Shoemaker (ed.), With All Deliberate Speed (New York: Harper and Bros., 1957), p. 164.

[5] New Republic, CXXVII (July 21, 1952), 7.

William and Mary and at the University of Virginia were also among those predominately white institutions admitting Negroes prior to 1954.[1] By the date of Brown v. Board of Education, only the state universities of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina had failed to admit Negro students to institutions enrolling white students.[2]

In the South, negative public reaction was not very pronounced prior to 1954 regarding integration in higher education. It became strong, however, in the years following the sweeping rulings in the Brown v. Board of Education decisions. Legislatures in several states passed measures designed to prevent integration of elementary and secondary schools and to forestall further integration at the college level. Louisiana, in 1956, passed two measures designed to prevent the continued registration of Negro students in four public institutions of higher education. Act #15 provided that no person could be registered without presenting a certificate of good moral character signed by his former principal and superintendent; Act #249 provided that any principal or superintendent signing such a certificate for a Negro would lose his job.[3] The Georgia legislature, in 1955, passed a law making it a felony for any school official to spend tax money for public schools in which the races were mixed.[4] Mississippi's answer to the Supreme Court decision was a ruling that applicants to the state university must present letters of recommendation from five alumni who were residents of the county from which the student applied.[1] Each of these statewide integration-blocking plans was eventually overturned in the courts.[2]

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[1] J. R. Picott, "Desegregation of Higher Education in Virginia," Journal of Negro Education, XXVII, Part 3 (Summer, 1958), 327.

[2] Southern School News, Vol. I (July, 1955).

[3] Samuel L. Gandy, "Desegregation of Higher Education in Louisiana," Journal of Negro Education, XXVII, Part 3 (Summer, 1958), 270.

[4] Albert P. Blaustein and Clarence C. Ferguson, Jr., Desegregation and the Law (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957).

The directions of the United States Supreme Court in the 1954 and 1955 decisions were not clear and exact because each state and, to an extent, each school district in the South presented a separate problem in school desegregation. The Brown v. Board of Education rulings had allowed for gradual change and, in most cases, interpretation of whether or not a school district was making satisfactory progress in integrating its schools was left to Southern Circuit and District Courts.[3] There were many examples of delay in applying the general desegregation rulings to particular situations. On February 3, 1962, United States District Judge S. C. Mize, presiding at a hearing on an admissions suit, held that the University of Mississippi was "not a racially segregated institution."[4] He held that the Negro applicant had been denied admission to the university on grounds other than his race. Virgil Hawkins' application to the University of Florida Law School remained in the courts for nine years.[5] When the United States Supreme Court reviewed that case in 1956, it ruled that the "deliberate speed" provision had no applicability to graduate and professional schools; Negro applicants were entitled to immediate admission.[6]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid.

[3] J. W. Peltason, Fifty-eight Lonely Men (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961).

[4] Southern School News, Vol. VIII (February, 1962).

[5] Ibid., Vol. V (October, 1958).

[6] 350 U.S. 414 (1956).

This ruling notwithstanding, two years elapsed before George Starke, a Negro, was admitted to the University of Florida.[1] The nine year delay from Hawkins' first application to the initial enrollment of a Negro student led one writer to comment, "No state was as spectacular as Florida in the use of legal tactics of resistance to desegregation in higher education."[2]

Judges, school administrators, and other public officials have at times run ahead, and at times lagged far behind, the temper of their constituents. There is no way to assess accurately in advance just how "public opinion" will react to particular actions taken by elected or appointed officials. The aforementioned University of Florida desegregation followed much agitation for it by students and faculty members. On the Gainesville campus, in 1955, The Society of Friends, The Wesley Foundation, The Baptist Student Union, and Canterbury House petitioned the Board of Control to allow the University to admit Negro students.[3] The local chapter of the American Association of University Professors resolved, early in 1956, to ask the Board of Control to desegregate the University.[4] Other campus groups submitted petitions stating that "no serious conflicts, incidents, or disturbences would occur" if Negroes were enrolled.[1] Also in Florida, the University of Miami Student Senate voted, early in 1958, to ask the administration to end segregation at that institution.[2]

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[1] Southern School News, Vol. V (October, 1958).

[2] Jessie P. Guzman, Twenty Years of Court Decisions Affecting Higher Education in the South, 1938-1958 (Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute, 1960), p. 30.

[3] Southern School News, Vol. II (August, 1955).

[4] Ibid., Vol. II (February, 1956).

The Florida legislature attempted to meet the problems posed for the segregated public school system by the Brown v. Board of Education decisions by passing, in 1955, a law assigning authority in the matter of pupil enrollment to the county boards of public instruction.[3] Legislators were of the opinion that such a subdivision of responsibility for maintaining segregated schools would forestall litigation which could have the effect of overturning the entire state system of segregation in a single court test.

In the face of threats of stronger action in the legislature, Governor Leroy Collins and State Attorney General Richard Ervin appointed Judge L. L. Fabisinski in April, 1956 to head a committee to study proposals which would delay integration of the schools.[4] The committee report, submitted on July 16, 1956, recommended passage of a pupil assignment law and such a law was passed in an extraordinary session of the legislature, held that summer.[5] The law gave to the county boards of public instruction the authority to assign pupils to schools taking into account "such sociological, psychological and like intangible social scientific factors as will prevent, as nearly as practicable, any

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid., Vol. IV (May, 1958).

[3] Laws of Florida, 1955, Vol. I, Part 1, Chapt. 29746.

[4] Southern School News, Vol. II (May, 1956).

[5] Ibid., Vol. III (August, 1956).

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condition of socio-economic class consciousness among the pupils."[1] It further directed the county boards to take into account, in assigning pupils to schools, availability of facilities and "adequacy of a pupil's academic preparation."[2] Governor Collins declared, upon signing the bill, "What we have done will not satisfy the extremists on either side but . . . will be approved by . . . citizens who respect law and order."[3]

Governor Collins continued to plead for law and order in his Second Inaugural Address delivered in the following year, stating, "It will do us no good whatever to defy the United States Supreme Court . . . . The decisions are the law of the land." However he insisted that, "segregation in Florida schools . . . can be expected to prevail for the foreseeable future."[4] In a 1957 extraordinary session, the Florida legislature directed county school boards to close the schools "in the event the National Guard or any other military forces or personnel are employed or used upon the order or direction of any federal authority on public school properties."[5] It further directed the boards to "provide for the transfer to another school in the county of any pupil enrolled in such closed school upon petition of the parent" provided that certain other criteria be met.[6]

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[1] Florida, Statutes Annotated (Atlanta: Harrison Co., 1961), sec. 230.232.

[2] Ibid. [3] Southern School News, Vol. III (September, 1956).

[4] Time, LXIX (January 21, 1957), 15.

[5] Florida, sec. 230.233. The bill was signed on October 25, 1957.

[6] Ibid.

Orchard Villa Desegregation Attempt

When the Dade County School Board began, in 1957, to make plans for a junior college, it was operating segregated schools under the provisions of the Florida Constitution and the laws of the state. The Constitution stated, "White and colored children shall not be taught in the same school, but impartial provision shall be made for both."[1] In accordance with the constitutional provision, the Florida laws required that "the schools for white children and the schools for Negro children shall be conducted separately."[2] The revisions of 1955, 1956, and 1957 in the school laws had given authority to the county boards in the matter of pupil assignment but had left no doubt as to the expectations of the legislators that segregation would be preserved as long as possible.

In a formal statement of policy, in August, 1955, the Dade County Board announced that area schools would continue to be segregated.[3] In response to the Board's pronouncement, the first petition to be filed in Federal Court in the State of Florida asking that segregation be abolished in the public schools was filed in Dade County on September

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[1] Florida *Constitution*, art. 12, sec. 12.

[2] Florida, *Statutes Annotated*, (1961), sec. 228.09.

[3] This was not a unanimous sentiment of the Board; Board member Anna B. Meyers issued a statement of her own declaring that the Supreme Court decisions were to be regarded as law. *Southern School News*, Vol. II (September, 1955).

7, 1955.[1] This petition, changed in the following year to a specific admissions suit and, eventually into a class action, remained in the courts long after the junior college had been opened. Dade County thus achieved the distinction of "having been in court longer than any place else in the state on the integration problem."[2]

In answer to the admissions suit and to other community pressures "to do something" in making a start towards integration, the Dade County School Board and Administrative Staff, in the autumn of 1958, began planning for the integration of a school.[3] Orchard Villa Elementary School, located in a Miami neighborhood undergoing, at that time, a rapid change in racial composition of its residents (from white to Negro), was selected. A neighborhood poll was taken to determine reaction to the proposed integration and wide-spread publicity was accorded this "first step."[4] Governor Leroy Collins met privately on occasion with certain of the Board members and was appraised of each step in the plan.[5]

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[1] The case of *Reverend Theodore Gibson, et al.* v. *Board of Public Instruction of Dade County, Florida, et al.* reported in *Southern School News*, Vol. III (July, 1956).

[2] Matthews interview. The case is still under supervision of a Federal judge and any time the plaintiff becomes "dissatisfied with the operation of the school system from the point of view of segregation, he can go back to the Court on the same case" (Gibson interview).

[3] Matthews interview.

[4] *Southern School News*, Vol. V (November, 1958). Comment on the Orchard Villa plan appeared in every issue of *Southern School News* from November, 1958 through the following school year.

[5] Butler interview. Also *Southern School News*, Vol. V (March 1959).

In February, 1959, the School Board unanimously adopted a resolution which stated that four Negro children had been assigned to Orchard Villa and would enter the school in the following September.[1] The action was hailed by Governor Collins and by Judge Fabisinski as being in accord with the pupil assignment law, but "not a single legislative voice was raised in praise of the action."[2] The County Administrative Staff continued with its poll and by the end of the spring term had had visiting teachers call on everyone of the 607 families of Orchard Villa students asking their reaction to the coming of the Negroes.[3]

Orchard Villa began classes in September, 1959, in what amounted to a white boycott of the school. During the summer, racial changeover in the neighborhood served by the school had become virtually complete and only a few of the white families which were left would send their children to the school. Eight white and four Negro children were in attendance at the beginning of the term.[4] Rather than attempt to continue operations at the school under these conditions, the Board began acceptance of more applications for admission of Negro pupils. By the end of October, there were approximately thirteen white and four hundred Negro students in attendance. A Negro principal and an all

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[1] Southern School News, Vol. V (March, 1959).

[2] Ibid.

[3] Matthews interview.

[4] Southern School News, Vol. VI (November, 1959).

Negro faculty had been assigned to the school.[1] At the end of the school year, there were no white children enrolled at the school.

The publicity accorded the assignment of the first Negro pupils to Orchard Villa attracted scores of reporters from newspapers and wire services within and without the state. Although there was no disorder at the school, press coverage prior to the opening and rumors of what might happen when the school opened were widespread.[2] Board members received both praise and criticism for their handling of the first integration in Dade County schools although most of the criticism was limited to the "anonymous phone call at night" type.[3] The County Administrative Staff gained the impression that the Orchard Villa opening was considered newsworthy by the press because the entire community was aware of it before it happened.[4]

Summary

Chapter II revealed the "setting" for the phased integration at Miami-Dade Junior College. A brief listing of some of the characteristics of Miami and Dade County, Florida, was made. The extent of racial integration in Southern colleges and universities in the late 1950's was summarized. The temper of the Florida legislature on the school segregation issue was revealed.

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid.

[3] Meyers and Butler interviews.

[4] Matthews interview. Interview with Theodore Koschler, Dean of Technical Studies, Miami-Dade Junior College, December 30, 1963. Dean Koschler was, prior to his appointment, Director of Vocational and Technical Studies for the Dade County Board of Public Instruction.

The Dade County School Board announced, in 1958, that it would begin desegregation of area public schools. Its attempt to achieve integration at Orchard Villa Elementary School in 1959 failed because all of the white pupils withdrew from the school during the first year that Negroes were admitted. Against this background, plans were made for the opening of Miami-Dade Junior College in 1960 as a partially integrated institution.

CHAPTER III

THE INITIAL ATTEMPT

The Florida Junior College System

The plan for orderly development of a system of public community junior colleges evolved over the course of many years. In 1933, when Palm Beach Junior College was established, there were no state laws which specifically provided for the establishment of junior colleges as part of the public school system of Florida counties. The college in Palm Beach County was opened as a part of the county school system under local initiation. The first legislation applicable to the establishment of public junior colleges in Florida was enacted in 1939.[1] This law authorized county boards of public instruction to establish, or to take over already established, junior colleges within their jurisdiction; a stipulation was that the county must have a population of not less than 50,000.[2]

The 1947 state legislature made the first comprehensive provision for control and support of junior colleges as part of the state public school system.[3] This law gave the State Board of Education the power to set certain standards which the county boards would have to meet before they could establish junior colleges. Among these were the requirement that the county board must appropriate annually "a sum at least equivalent to five per cent of the minimum financial effort required for each county to support the Minimum Foundation Program or grades one to twelve inclusive."[1] Student fees were to be charged only as authorized by the State Board of Education.[2] This law also provided for the establishment of five-member local advisory committees and set standards for membership thereon.[3]

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[1] Laws of Florida, 1939, Vol. I, chap. 19158.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., 1947, Vol. I, chap. 23726.

In the ensuing years, several studies were made which attempted to determine educational needs of the state and offer guidelines for junior college legislation. The State Advisory Council on Education, established by the legislature in 1947, requested, in 1951, one such study of the expansion of junior colleges.[4] Although no direct legislation resulted from this study, many of the recommendations contained in it were incorporated in the 1955 law.[5]

The State Board of Control for Institutions of Higher Learning, in 1953, appointed a Council for the Study of Higher Education in Florida.[6] This Council reported and recommended "that there be developed in Florida a system of public community colleges."[1] It further stated that a special commission be given the responsibility of developing plans for the expansion of the system of junior colleges in the state. The 1955 legislature, on the basis of this recommendation, established the Community College Council to make such a study.[2]

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[1] Ibid., sec. 242.43. [2] Ibid.

[3] When more than one county supports the junior college, nine members are authorized (Ibid., sec. 242.42).

[4] Community College Council, The Community Junior College in Florida's Future (Tallahassee: Florida State Department of Education, 1957), p. 25.

[5] Ibid.

[6] A. J. Brumbaugh, "A Statewide Study of Higher Education in Florida," Higher Education, XIII, 5 (January, 1957), 79-81.

The Community College Council held its initial meeting in September, 1955 and selected James L. Wattenbarger as Director of the Community College Council Study.[3] The Council found that there was a great need for additional educational facilities beyond the high school and determined that a system of public community junior colleges would be admirably suited to meet that need in the State of Florida. Most of the recommendations which came out of the extensive study made by the Council were put into effect by the 1957 Legislature. The eventual establishment of twenty-seven new junior colleges, in addition to the four operating at that time, was projected.[4] The Council recommended a system of priorities "to permit and to encourage carefully planned and orderly development of these institutions."[5] The priorities would be assigned according to the following standards:

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[1] Ibid., p. 80. [2] Community College Council, p. 25.

[3] Alfred H. Adams, "A History of Public Higher Education in Florida: 1821-1961" (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Florida State University, 1962), p. 260. Wattenbarger had made his own study of Florida junior colleges in 1950 and had contributed several firm recommendations for development of a junior college system. He had proposed a state plan which included locations for colleges, method of organization and financing, and suggestions for legislation. (James L. Wattenbarger, A State Plan for Public Junior Colleges [Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1953]).

[4] Community College Council, p. 34.

[5] Ibid., p. 29.

Priority 1: Those areas which are characterized by larger concentrations of population, high indications of need for educational services, a demonstrated positive attitude toward such expansion, and definite indication of ability to contribute to the support of a community junior college.

Priority 2: Those areas which met the requirements of population and need for educational services but do not reach a comparable level in the expression of a favorable attitude toward a community college and the ability to support such a program.

Priority 3: Those areas which should continue to be studied and which should be considered for later development.

Priority 4: Those areas which should be developed in the future when additional evidence of need and support becomes available.[1]

The Council also proposed that its own research and study functions be given permanent status "as a responsibility of the Division of Community Junior Colleges in the office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction."[2]

The thirty-one junior college areas as finally identified were established by the Community College Council on the basis of predetermined criteria. The Council resolved that:

1. No area should be smaller than one county.
2. When more than one county is considered, no area should, in general, have a longer than thirty mile travel radius for commuting to and from and institution.
3. Potential enrollments for Priorities One and Two should be no less than four hundred full time students.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. XVIII. Such a division was created in 1957.

4. The growth potential of the area should be high if the area is near the lower limits of any of these criteria.[1]

The Council felt that it was not advisable to designate areas for establishment of junior colleges which would be smaller than the typical school administrative unit in the state (this unit is coterminous with the county).[2] It stated that, "in the larger and more populous counties this may imply one or more branches of a single junior college and that will become a problem of local concern . . . ."[3]

As a method of determining priorities for the establishment of junior colleges in the state, the Council sought local surveys of each area. The purposes of these surveys were to determine the level of public interest and support for a junior college, the local resources available, the extent to which the local school board was willing to work for the establishment of a college, and to "develop understanding among citizens of the locality as to the nature and purposes of a community junior college."[4]

1957 Request for Priority One

Dade County was designated in the Community Council Council study as an area which would need a college of its own. A request for a brief which would help the Council determine priority recommendations was received by the Dade County School Board in November, 1956. During that month Superintendent of Public Instruction Joe Hall, and Chairman of the Board C. Raymond Van Dusen, attended a meeting of the Community

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[1] Ibid., p. 29.

[2] Ibid., p. 30.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 39.

College Council at which they were told of their need to prepare a survey.[1] Upon their return, they discussed at a meeting of the School Board the information which Dade County would be expected to produce in the matter of proof of community willingness to support a junior college. The Board thereupon resolved on December 5, 1956 that:

1. Mr. Frank Sloane be designated as the local staff person to conduct the necessary studies and to attend the meeting of similar staff persons from other counties in Tallahassee during the week of December 10.
2. The Chairman of the School Board and the Superintendent be authorized to appoint the members of the local Advisory Committee.
3. Mr. Sloane and the Committee be authorized to obtain such consultant help as may be needed from the Community College Council, provided the cost for such consultant help shall not exceed $250.00.[2]

The School Board Resolution authorizing the appointment of an Advisory Committee and the preparation of a study for the Community College Council was not the first mention of a junior college for Dade County. Some of the Board members had talked among themselves previously about the feasibility of seeking a junior college for Dade County.[3] Such proposals always ran into opposition from those Board members who were concerned that all the financial support Dade County could muster for its schools would be needed for the greatly expanding enrollments in the kindergarten through twelfth grade program. The Dade County Classroom

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[1] Interview with Joe Hall, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dade County, Florida, November 4, 1963.

[2] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, December 5, 1956 (in the files of the Board).

[3] Meyers interview.

Teachers Association had also been talking about a junior college. That body had resolved in 1953 that it was in favor of the establishment of a public community college.[1] The resolution was renewed every year from the time it was introduced until the junior college was authorized.[2]

Frank Sloane, who had been recommended for the post of Coordinator of the Study by Joe Hall, attended the December meeting in Tallahassee where he learned specifically what materials the Community College Council expected to be included in the brief.[3] These included, in addition to the general evidence of community interest and resources available, answers to certain specific questions:

1. Is there any significant information which supplements, corrects, or adds to the data previously assembled by the Council?
2. What are the specific educational needs which should be met by a community college in this area?
3. What kind of local support may be expected for a community college?
4. Is it feasible to expect local financial support which will not be taken away from educational programs already in operation?
5. What kinds of facilities are available for use at the present time?[4]

Less than three months was allocated to Dade County for the completion of its community study.[1] Due to the press of time, the Chairman of the School Board and the Superintendent decided to use as an advisory committee for the junior college study the same group which had been serving as an advisory committee to the Adult and Vocational Department of the Board of Public Instruction.[2] Robert Morgan, chairman of that committee, continued in the post as Chairman of the Citizens Advisory Committee on a Junior College for Dade County.[3]

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[1] Interview with Alan Stratton, President of Dade County Classroom Teachers Association, 1959-1961, January 4, 1964.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Interview with Frank Sloane, Director of Research, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, November 4, 1963.

[4] Community College Council, pp. 39-40.

The Advisory Committee held meetings on January 9, January 24, and February 7, 1957.[4] It was aided in its deliberations and in the collection of materials by Board Chairman Van Dusen, Board member Meyers, Superintendent Hall, and several members of the Superintendent's staff.[5] The Committee found, in surveying high school students, students in adult evening division courses, and major employers in the area, that a community junior college would be a definite asset to Dade County.[6] It reported that Dade County led the state in local contribution of taxes per pupil for support of the schools and that level of educational achievement in Dade County was higher than in any other county in Florida.[1] It determined that facilities were available to start a community junior college in the afternoon and evening in high school plants which had capacity for 16,805 white students and 5,190 Negro students.[2] The Committee, in view of these findings, voted unanimously on February 7 to recommend to the School Board that a request for Priority One be presented to the Community College Council.[3] If opening of the college would be approved for 1957, the Committee stated that it would be necessary to "make use of existing facilities available in the senior high school centers throughout the county at least on a temporary basis."[4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 40.

[2] Interview with Robert Morgan, Chairman of the Citizens Advisory Committee on a Community Junior College for Dade County, January 2, 1964. Interview with Claire Weintraub, Member of the Citizens Advisory Committee, December 23, 1963.

[3] Morgan interview. Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, March 6, 1957.

[4] Citizens Advisory Committee on a Community Junior College for Dade County, "Report to the Community College Council," February, 1957. (In the Division of Community Junior Colleges, Florida State Department of Education.) Cited hereafter as Report to the Council.

[5] Ibid. [6] Ibid.

In support of the Committee's recommendation, Superintendent Hall submitted a memorandum to the Board recommending the adoption of a resolution requesting that the Community College Council consider Dade County for Priority One.[5] In his attempt to unify the Board behind the resolution, Hall pointed out that "the Community College Council . . . will recommend that five areas be granted Priority One, and since these institutions will be financed largely by state funds, and Dade County will help to pay for all these institutions, I believe our county should have for its citizens the advantages to be derived from such an institution."[6] Robert Morgan appeared before the Board to urge the adoption of the resolution.[1] In the discussion which preceded the Board's request for Priority One, Hall again pointed out that the junior colleges which would be established in the 1957-1958 biennium would be "financed largely from state funds" and stated that it put "Dade County in the position of choosing whether it would become the site of one of these community junior colleges, or whether it prefers that these tax funds be used to locate the colleges elsewhere."[2] The Board thereupon passed unanimously a resolution which stated, "This County has both the need and a high amount of community support for this level of education" and requested "that the Community College Council consider Dade County for Priority One in order that a Community Junior College may be developed as rapidly as possible."[3]

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[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, sec. XVII, p. 26.

[5] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, March 6, 1957.

[6] *Ibid.*

The brief which stated the findings of the Dade County community study was submitted to the Community College Council in Tallahassee in February, 1957, along with a request for Priority One.[4] The Council, however, assigned Priority Two-A to Dade County along with two other junior college districts.[5] A Two-A listing designated an area which was "being encouraged to start to develop long range plans for organizing a community junior college during the 1959-61 biennium."[6] The Dade County School Board was notified of its failure to achieve Priority One listing in a letter from James Wattenbarger, Director of the Division of Community Junior Colleges, on March 21, 1957.[1] The reason offered was that "the Council felt in terms of the evidence presented in a brief prepared by your local Advisory Board that there needed to be considerably more time spent in planning the organization and operation of a junior college in Dade County before such an institution could be successfully operated."[2]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

[4] "Report to the Council."

[5] Community College Council, p. 42.

[6] Ibid., p. 41.

The Dade County School Board had voted unanimously to request Priority One but its failure to achieve this was not unexpected. The amount of money which Dade County would have to provide for the operation of a junior college was still a question which had not been answered satisfactorily for all members.[3] As late as October 1, 1958, after a revised brief had been submitted and a Priority One listing assured, a lengthy discussion regarding the possible ways of diverting local funds for the college took place at a meeting of the School Board.[4]

Several Board members were still doubtful in 1958 about the method of financing a junior college but the administrative staff of the Board of Public Instruction had been unified behind the idea of a college from the time that the 1957 Legislature had revised the Support Law.[5]

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[1] Letter from James L. Wattenbarger, Director and Secretary to the Community College Council, to the Dade County Board of Public Instruction, March 21, 1957 (in the files of the Dade County Board of Public Instruction).

[2] Ibid.

[3] Roberts interview. Interview with James L. Wattenbarger, Director, Division of Community Junior Colleges, Florida State Department of Education, October 15, 1963. Also corroborated in Matthews and Meyers interviews.

[4] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, October 1, 1958.

[5] Interview with Edwin R. Hilgendorf, Associate Superintendent for Finance, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, January 3, 1964. Corroborated in Matthews and Hall interviews.

The 1947 Law provided that each county contribute to the support of the junior college a sum at least equal to five per cent of the local expenditure for the grades one through twelve program. Five per cent of the local effort for Dade County, with its operating budget of $42,563,706 for the school year 1957-58,[1] would have been a sum greater than the total cost of operation of the junior college in its initial years. On this basis, the county would not have received any junior college operating funds from the state.

Superintendent Hall went to Tallahassee on several occasions before and during the 1957 legislative session to explain Dade's predicament to Wattenbarger and to several of the legislators.[2] The Support Law was amended, in the 1957 session, to state that no county "shall be required to make a financial effort to support the junior college of more than 50 per cent of the total cost . . . for such junior college."[3] With the law thus changed, the Dade Administrative Staff was encouraged to proceed with its plans to bring about a junior college.

Choosing a Site

In the 1956-1957 discussions by the interested bodies in Dade County, the questions of college location and of racial composition of he student body had not been at issue. The matter of financial support was of prime concern and that, along with questions of type of curriculum to be offered and potential relationships between the junior college president and the County Administrative Staff, dominated School Board, Staff, and Advisory Committee discussions.[1] The School Board and Staff members were aware from the beginning that Dade County would require more than one center. It was anticipated that the centers would open, at least temporarily, in existing high school facilities.[2] Accessibility of a junior college center to all of the population of Dade County would be rendered difficult if the facilities were concentrated in one location. The great area of the county dictated that more than one center be established in order that large numbers of students not be penalized by long commuting distances.

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[1] Dade County Board of Public Instruction, "Fifth Annual Statistical Report of the Superintendent" (in the files of the Board).

[2] Interview with James L. Wattenbarger, January 14, 1964. Hall interview.

[3] Florida, Statutes Annotated (1957), sec. 230.48.

The total number of prospective junior college students was estimated, in 1958, at 5,043 white and 1,516 Negro enrollees.[3] These figures, based on a survey of graduating high school seniors, were recognized as being conservative for the administrative staff expected as many as 3,500 to 4,000 students at each center and anticipated that, eventually, six centers would be needed.[4] Each of these centers was envisioned as being needed in addition to the college-level classes which would be offered in existing high school facilities. The development of expressways for automobile travel in Dade County, beginning in 1960, made the matter of accessibility less critical but at the initial planning stage of the college, convenience of a center to the students' residences was considered of prime importance.[1]

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[1] Roberts, Meyers, and Hall interviews.

[2] Hall interview.

[3] Citizens Advisory Committee on a Community Junior College for Dade County, "Revised Brief of the Report to the Community College Council, August, 1958." (In the files of the Division of Community Junior Colleges, Florida State Department of Education.) Cited hereafter as "Revised Brief."

[4] Hall interview.

In the first brief, submitted in 1957, the administrative staff and the Advisory Committee had suggested that existing facilities in high schools would be used if a college were authorized. In the revised brief, submitted to the Community College Council on September 17, 1958, specific sites were proposed.[2] One site had been approved by the School Board on April 9, 1958, "subject to release of the land by the Model Land Company for this purpose."[3] The eighty acre site facing N. W. 95 Street between N. W. 17 Avenue and 19 Avenue, Miami, had been deeded by the company to the School Board thirty-five years previously for use as a school farm and a ruling was necessary from Board attorneys on the legality of using the land as a "vocational technical and community college" site.[4] Mentioned in the brief as "additional sites for establishment of junior colleges on a long-range building plan" were Northwestern High School at 7007 N. W. 12 Avenue, Miami, described as being "well located in relation to the various heavily populated Negro communities" and a second large site owned by the Board at S. W. 114 Avenue and

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[1] Ibid.   [2] "Revised Brief," I, Item P.

[3] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, April 9, 1958.

[4] Ibid.

S. W. 193 Street.[1]

Land acquisition was a major problem of the Dade County School Board in the period of rapidly expanding enrollments of the 1950's. Part of the school farm site was already in use as the campus of Miami Central High School. This school had been opened in 1958 to offer a curriculum based on special technical programs with students from anywhere in the county authorised to attend provided they furnish their own transportation.[2] There was still room in the new high school buildings for additional students who would be able to use certain classrooms, the gymnasium, and the cafeteria. Typing rooms, machine shops, technical and electronics laboratories were also available. Additional buildings for use by the junior college would include certain farm buildings still standing on the property and portable classrooms and offices.[3] The facilities at Northwestern High School were also relatively new and space in the buildings was available for use by junior college students. The fact that the school farm property and the Negro high school were within two miles of each other was also a factor in their selection as initial sites for the college.[4]

Summary

Dade County received a Priority Two-A listing from the Community College Council in 1957. Failure to achieve Priority One was not unexpected because Dade County School Board members were not unanimously

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[1] "Revised Brief," I, Item P.

[2] Meyers interview.

[3] Koechler interview.

[4] Ibid.

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in favor of organizing a junior college. This fact was known by members of the Community College Council.[1]

Dade County school officials expected that several branches of the junior college would eventually be needed. Two initial sites were selected in 1957 but the School Board was not firmly committed to those locations until 1960. Chapter IV reveals how the two campuses were finally agreed on but only after an attempt to obtain authorization for the use of the University of Miami facilities was made.

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[1] Wattenbarger interview, October 15, 1963.

CHAPTER IV

THE TWO-CAMPUS PLAN

The school farm property, along with the Northwestern High School and the S. W. 193 Street sites, had been listed in the revised brief but the School Board and the Administrative Staff were not committed to those locations for the initial operation of the college. The sites named were included in the brief because, before consideration could be granted by the State Department of Education for Priority One, it was necessary that a location be assured. The Department approved the school farm site on July 7, 1958.[1] Even after the State Advisory Council, on October 27, 1958, voted to recommend Dade County for Priority One listing,[2] it would have been possible to seek approval of a different site before opening of the college.[3]

The University of Miami

One such alternate site proposed and discussed was the campus of the University of Miami at Coral Gables. The University was founded in 1926 as an independent, non-denominational institution.[1] It enjoyed a position of affection among many citizens of Dade County who had helped it grow from a struggling school of a few hundred students into a great comprehensive institution. They did not wish to see it harmed in any way by the opening of a rival college.

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[1] "Revised Brief," I, Item F.

[2] Minutes of the Meeting, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, November 5, 1958.

[3] Wattenbarger interview, January 14, 1964.

Beginning with their earliest deliberations, members of the Citizens Advisory Committee had sought assurances that the opening of a junior college would be compatible with the growth of the University.[2] Superintendent Hall and other Administrative Staff members who attended Committee meetings helped convince Committee members that the University and the junior college would not be competing for the same students.[3] They stressed the fact that most of the junior college students would not be qualified, either financially or academically, or both, to attend the senior institution.

As a method of insuring cooperation rather than competition with the University, the School Board and the Administrative Staff discussed the possibility of using the University campus and facilities as a temporary location for the junior college.[4] A formal resolution to use the University campus was never presented at a School Board meeting but discussions of the possibility took place among the members and between them and University officials from time to time from the earliest consideration of a junior college through 1959.[1]

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[1] University of Miami, University Register (Coral Gables, Florida, 1962).

[2] Morgan and Weintraub interviews.

[3] Morgan and Slosso interviews.

[4] Butler interview.

Proposals for use of University facilities would have had junior college students attending classes along with regular University students or attending separate classes on the campus.[2] In either case, tuition would have been paid to the University out of junior college operating funds for each junior college student in attendance. This expenditure of state funds would have required an act of the legislature similar to that which had authorized payment of state money to the medical school at the private University of Miami.[3] In July, 1959, Executive Vice-President James M. Godard of the University spoke to James Wattenbarger regarding such a proposal.[4] The conversation took place, however, subsequent to the legislature's granting authorization to Dade County to begin operation of a college and its appropriation of initial operating funds for the college in the 1959 Appropriations Bill.[5] A bill which would have authorized payment of these funds to the University of Miami had not been introduced in the 1959 legislative session.

President Jay F. W. Pearson of the University of Miami, on

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Letter from Jay F. W. Pearson, February 11, 1964.

[3] "The State of Florida . . . shall pay to the first accredited and approved medical school established in the State of Florida the sum of Three Thousand Dollars ($3,000) per year for each student admitted and enrolled in such institution" (Laws of Florida, 1951, Vol. I, chap. 26763). The University of Miami established the first such school.

[4] Wattenbarger interview, January 14, 1964.

[5] Ibid.

August 3, 1959, offered the use of the facilities of his institution to the Dade County School Board. He suggested that the difference between the tuition the University would receive from the Board for the junior college students in attendance and that of the regular University students could be covered "by reducing our present offering of scholarship help to Dade County students."[1] Pearson had discussed the proposal with the executive committee of the University Board of Trustees and had received authorization to make the offer.[2]

The five member Junior College Advisory Board, appointed by the School Board on August 5, 1959,[3] discussed the proposal at its second meeting, and at several subsequent meetings.[4] The general question of the potential effect of the junior college on the University of Miami also was deliberated at private meetings between certain members of the Advisory Board and President Pearson.[5] Advisory Board members took the position that junior college students, who would be admitted under a policy of allowing entrance to all who had completed high school, or who were over twenty-one years of age, would dilute the academic quality of the lower division classes at the University.[1] They explained further to President Pearson that the junior college would have the beneficial effect of helping raise academic standards at the University by affording students from the lower half of Miami area high school graduating classes an opportunity to continue their education locally without having to seek admission to the University.[2]

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[1] Letter from Jay F. W. Pearson, President, University of Miami to C. Raymond Van Dusen, Chairman of the Dade County Board of Public Instruction, August 3, 1959 (in the files of the Board). Tuition at the time was $375 per semester.

[2] Letter from Jay F. W. Pearson, February 11, 1964.

[3] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, August 5, 1959.

[4] Interview with Leonard Usina, Member, Miami-Dade Junior College Advisory Committee, December 26, 1963. Interview with Mitchell Wolfson, Member, Miami-Dade Junior College Advisory Committee, December 31, 1963. Also in minutes of the meeting, November 4, 1959, Dade County Board of Public Instruction.

[5] Wolfson interview.

A proposal which would have had the effect of letting "junior college students feel that they were on a college campus and not in a high school" was considered by members of the School Board who wanted to rent space from the University of Miami for the operation of junior college night classes.[3] President Pearson also felt that "two years on the University campus [until a permanent center could be established] would be better than two years with junior college work taught in high schools."[4] In informal discussions between School Board and Staff members, the proposal failed to gain support from the Administrative staff and was dropped.[5]

On December 18, 1959, Pearson's offer of August 3 was formally declined in a letter from the Superintendent which stated further that the University could be assured, the two institutions would not be competing for the same students.[6] No discussions about opening the junior college on the University campus took place among school officials after the end of the year.[1]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid., Usina interview.

[3] Meyers interview.

[4] Letter from Jay F. W. Pearson, February 11, 1964.

[5] Roberts interview.

[6] Letter from Joe Hall to Jay F. W. Pearson, December 18, 1959 (in the files of the Board).

Emergence of the Plan

In planning for the opening of the junior college, the School Board, the Administrative Staff, and the Citizens Advisory Committee had to consider still another factor in addition to the aforementioned matters of financial support, accessibility to prospective students, and effect of the junior college on the University of Miami. The Community College Council report of May 31, 1957 was issued at the time when initial planning in Dade County was taking place stating, "It may be feasible in several instances . . . to permit community colleges to be established for Negroes. Therefore, the . . . areas designed . . . for community junior college development may be considered . . . for segregated colleges according to policy established in Florida for public schools."[2] The "policy established" referred to the state constitutional requirement of racial segregation in the schools. This requirement was declared "invalid and unenforceable" by Federal Court in 1959[3] but it is still a law of the state. The number of prospective Negro students in Dade (1,516 in 1958) was certainly great enough to warrant the establishment of a junior college to serve them but there were mitigating factors to be considered.

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[1] At a meeting of the Advisory Board, J. N. McArthur, a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of Miami as well as of the Junior College Board reported "the largest freshmen enrollment in the history of the University" for 1960 (Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Junior College Advisory Committee, June 8, 1960 [in the Office of the President, Miami-Dade Junior College]).

[2] Community College Council, p. 38.

[3] In the case of Gibson v. Dade County Board of Public Instruction, cited in Florida, Statutes Annotated (1961), XI, 116.

The Administrative Staff had determined from the beginning of deliberations regarding a college that several separate centers would be required. The law of 1947, the foundation of the junior college system in the state, had included the provision that "not more than one junior college for white students and one for Negro students shall be established in any county."[1] This law was in force and not under attack in the courts for it was certainly not in opposition to any of the United States Supreme Court decisions. A separate college organization and president for each of several proposed centers in Dade County could not be considered, however, under the 1947 law. The School Board and the Administrative Staff knew that racial segregation in the junior college or colleges to be opened could not be enforced for long but the questions being debated by the Staff in 1957 were: When should integration take place? Upon opening the college or two or three or five years after? In what matter should integration occur All at once or gradually? Among the students only or in the faculty as well?[2]

As several centers would eventually be needed and as the several centers would have to be organized under one president, the Staff could see no good reason for a separate president to head the particular center or centers which would serve, temporarily at least, Negro students only.[1] The staff also "assumed from the trends that were in effect at that time that eventually there would not be separate white and Negro institutions."[2] Not only would a plan for separate colleges be contrary to the "trends of the times" but it would very likely be subject to immediate litigation on the charge that it was in violation of the Brown v. Board of Education decisions.[3] It was quite conceivable that an immediate court attack on a plan to open seperate colleges would prevent the opening of either college until the litigation was resolved.[4]

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[1] Laws of Florida, 1947, Vol. I, chap. 23726, sec. 242.41.

[2] Hall and Matthews interviews.

The reasoning followed that, even assuming that separate colleges could be opened, it would likely be necessary, within a very few years, to abandon the separate institution for Negroes. At that time it would be necessary, in order to dismantle the separate administrative structure of the Negro institution, for the School Board and the state agencies concerned to take several steps. First the local Board would have to pass a resolution asking that the college be closed. This resolution would thereupon go to the State Junior College Board where it would or would not be approved for recommendation to the State Department of Education. The State Department would then decide, based upon recommendation of the State Board, whether to allow the County Board to close the college.[5] In the planning for the junior college, the Administrative Staff felt that it would be quite undesirable to organize a separate college and then, within a short time, be faced with the necessity of asking the School Board to pass a resolution to close it.[1] Nor did they think it judicious to hire a Negro president and administrative staff and be forced shortly to dismiss them or to absorb them elsewhere in the county system.[2]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Hall interview.

[3] Matthews and Meyers interviews. [4] Matthews interview.

[5] Wattenbarger interview, January 14, 1964.

The arguments militating against separate colleges were communicated to Director Wattenbarger at an Administrative Staff meeting held to discuss plans for the preparation of the revised brief.[3] Although he received his first knowledge of the one-college two-campus plan at that meeting, Wattenbarger told the Staff that the decision to organize one college or two was theirs to make and that he, as Director of the Community College Council, would approve the plan either way.[4] Wattenbarger's acknowledgement that the decision was a local one was reiterated by him at a meeting with representatives of the Dade County Staff held after a Priority One listing for Dade had been approved.[5] At this meeting the Staff was told, "Each local Board of Public Instruction decides whether or not to have a Negro Junior College as well as one for white students. If two junior colleges are established (for white and Negro) and two presidents appointed, two units of $7,500 for these positions are allowed under the minimum foundation program."[1] After legislative appropriation for a junior college for Dade County was received in 1959, Board and Staff members, in a meeting with Wattenbarger, were told, "The allocation [of funds] between white and Negro is at the discretion of the individual county and may be changed as necessary."[2]

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[1] Hall interview. [2] Roberts interview.

[3] Wattenbarger interview, January 14, 1954. This meeting was held on November 7, 1957 ("Revised Brief," Appendix, Item V).

[4] Wattenbarger interview, January 14, 1964.

[5] "Notes from Meeting on Junior College held at Palm Beach Junior College, December 18, 1958" (in the files of the Board).

There were two alternatives to the organization of two seperate colleges: the opening of one college with two centers, and the opening of one fully integrated center. The Staff was naturally apprehensive about attempting a single, fully integrated institution. In extraordinary sessions in 1956 and 1957, the Florida legislature had adopted measures designed to prevent, or at least delay indefinitely, racial integration in the schools. In the face of this "keen feeling in the legislature about the race problem . . . there was a question of whether Dade County might receive any money from the state" for support of an integrated institution.[3] Substantial "changes in the whole area of race relations in the two year period between the original Priority listing [Two-A, March 21, 1957] and the subsequent approval by the legislature" enabled the junior college, in 1960, to embark on an immediate phased integration program.[1] In 1957, however, when plans for the junior college were begun, consideration of a fully integrated institution was regarded as unwise because of anticipated opposition from legislators.

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[1] Ibid., Items 4 and 5.

[2] "Notes from Community Junior College Meeting at Palm Beach Junior College, July 14, 1959" (in the files of the Board).

[3] Hall interview. Substantiated by Wolfson, Meyers, and Butler interviews.

Several other factors made the idea of a fully integrated college unattractive. The first of these factors was the matter of distance which would have to be travelled from the Negro residential areas of Dade County to the junior college on the school farm site located at 1781 N. W. 95 Street. The main concentrations of Negro population in Dade County were two to five miles south of the 95 Street location. The staff felt that by opening a branch at Northwestern High School, Negro students would be more likely to take advantage of the opportunity for junior college education. The small size of the school farm property was a second factor considered. Miami Central High School was occupying approximately half the eighty acre school farm site. There was very little additional space in the high school buildings and the few farm buildings and portables available for college use were recognized as being suitable only for a severely limited number of students.[2] The Board and Staff recognized that one center, on the forty acres available, would be, within a year or two at most, too small to accomodate the total number of students expected.[3]

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[1] Ibid. The "changing Florida climate" of 1957-1959 was keynoted by Governor Collins' appeals for "moderation" in race relations. He was stating in local and national speeches at the time, that the "South must discard the idea of massive resistance and undertake its rightful responsibilities" (Time, LXX [November 25, 1957], 32-33).

[2] Hall interview. [3] Ibid.

A third, and most important reason for abandonment of the idea of a single integrated campus was the differential in educational preparation between white and Negro students.[1] The policy makers feared that if Negro students, coming from segregated high schools with lower educational standards, were to be thrust immediately into college classrooms in competition with white students, one of two things would happen--either the academic standards of the college would be downgraded or the Negro students would suffer wholesale failure.[2]

The Negro Advisory Committee

A matter of concern to the School Board and Administrative Staff during the formative years of the junior college was the extent to which the Negro students of Dade County would take advantage of the educational opportunity afforded by a junior college. Although the staff recognized that, eventually, there would not be any form of segregation in the college, regardless of the number of centers, the matter of initial acceptance by the Negro community was in doubt.[3] The question asked in Staff meetings was, "Can we expect Negro students to attend more readily if we have an institution specifically for them?"[4] The Staff felt that "there would be some that would insist upon attending white institutions but there might be a larger number who would not feel the push for integration and who might prefer to attend an all Negro institution" because of fear of academic competition from the white students or "for other personal and social reasons."[1]

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[1] Matthews and Meyers interviews. This point is elaborated in Chapter V.

[2] *Ibid.* See Chapter V. Recognition of this problem of preparation differential led to the use, upon the college's opening, of the Northwestern campus as a "way station" to help raise the level of academic preparation of the Negro students, and, eventually, to the "Guided Studies" program (Letter from Gordon B. Pyle, former Dean of Academic Studies, Miami-Dade Junior College, January 20, 1964).

[3] Hall and Matthews interviews. [4] Hall interview.

Another factor about which the Staff "spent a good bit of time thinking" was whether Dade County could open one college with two centers and still receive the salary allocation from the state for the president of a separate institution.[2] Statutory financial arrangements for state junior colleges included the provision of $7,500 "for each President unit" to be paid to the county from state funds.[3] Although this support law has since been amended to allow "for administrative expenses including salaries of the first approved junior college center in each county, and . . . for administrative expenses including salaries of each additional center,"[4] at the time Miami-Dade Junior College was organized, salary for an administrative head of a second center of a single college was not available from the state. Dade officials felt that they might be able to obtain the state salary allocation for a president of a separate college to pay a dean of the center for Negroes if a separate advisory committee were created.[5]

Junior college districts in the state which had opened two separate colleges had appointed separate advisory committees for each institution. Duties of junior college advisory committees included their seeking support and interest in the community for the junior college. The Negro advisory committees serve as liaison agencies between the Negro people of the district and the college.[1] The Dade County School Board and Staff decided that, despite the fact that Dade County would have but one college, it might be desirable to appoint a Negro Junior College Advisory Committee so that the important task of enlisting support for the college in the Negro community would be facilitated.[2] Accordingly, on September 1, 1959, a few weeks after the five man Advisory Board to the junior college had been appointed, Superintendent Hall submitted to the School Board a list of names of persons who were "considered to be outstanding in the Negro community" for consideration for appointment to the "Negro Community Junior College Advisory Committee."[3] These persons were contacted by School Board members and announcement was made, on December 16, 1959, of the selection and appointment of three from the list.[4]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid.

[3] Florida, Statutes Annotated (1961), sec. 236.73.

[4] In the 1963 legislature (Florida, Statutes Annotated [1963], sec. 236.74).

[5] Hall interview.

Shortly after accepting their appointments to the Negro Junior College Advisory Committee, the three appointees discussed the matter of segregation in the proposed junior college with "other Negro community leaders."[5] The Reverend Mr. Theodore Gibson, President of the Miami

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[1] Community College Council, p. 46.

[2] Hall interview. Substantiated by Matthews and Meyers interviews.

[3] Memorandum from Superintendent Joe Hall to the Dade County Board of Public Instruction, September 1, 1959 (in the files of the Board).

[4] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, December 16, 1959.

[5] Interview with Ira P. Davis, Appointee, Dade County Negro Junior College Advisory Committee, December 24, 1963.

Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People "called each one and told them . . . they were doing the community an injustice to accept appointment on such a board."[1] After conferring among themselves, the appointees decided that complete racial integration of the junior college would take place more quickly if they refused to serve on a separate advisory board.[2] Accordingly they notified the School Board that they would be willing to serve on a biracial advisory committee to a fully integrated junior college but that they felt their presence on a separate board would serve to condone and perpetuate separation of the two junior college centers.[3]

The three appointees' refusal to serve on a Negro Advisory Committee had no effect on the decision not to open two separate colleges. The opening of one college with two centers would have occurred even if the persons named to the Negro Advisory Committee had not spurned their appointments; there would have been one college with two advisory boards.[4] Staff members had felt that the Negroes of Dade County, if they were to be "interested in the college," would prefer their own advisory committee but the staff "had mistaken community feeling."[5] Appointment of a separate advisory committee "was supposed to be a public relations move to make the junior college acceptable [to the Negro community] but its leaders" wanted nothing to do with a college which condoned any manner of racial segregation.[1] Announcement that "membership in the Negro Junior College Advisory Committee [is] to be held in abeyance" was made by the School Board on January 6, 1960, three weeks after approval of the appointments had been made.[2] The School Board and staff continued with the development of a single college with a single advisory committee but with two racially-segregated centers.

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[1] Gibson interview. [2] Ira P. Davis interview.

[3] *Ibid.* Substantiated by Meyers, Van Dusen and Hall interviews.

[4] Matthews and Meyers interviews.

[5] Matthews interview.

Summary

Dade County school officials, during the period 1957-1960, considered organizing separate junior colleges for white and Negro students but abandoned that idea because they did not wish to be charged with perpetuating racial segregation in the schools. They did not organize a fully integrated institution because of apprehension regarding the following factors: the legislature might not appropriate funds for such an institution; Negro students might not attend a college far from their homes; a site of sufficient size to accommodate all potential students was not available; and level of academic achievement of Negro high school graduates was below that of white high school graduates.

A single college operating on two separate campuses was organized. The first two years of operation of the college included gradual combination of the separate centers.

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, January 6, 1960.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST TWO YEARS

The first few meetings of the Junior College Advisory Board, held in the autumn and winter of 1959, were devoted to helping the School Board select a president. The Advisory Board was told by School Board members and by the County Superintendent of Schools of the reasons for the two campus plan and was asked to approve the sites selected for the opening of the college. In their interviews of prospective presidents for the junior college, Advisory Board members attempted to select and recommend to the School Board the persons whom they thought would be most in sympathy with the two campus plan and with the aims of the junior college generally.[1] All applicants for the presidency were asked whether they would have any "strong feelings" about serving as head of an institution which would include a Negro center.[2] When Kenneth R. Williams was first interviewed for the position, he was told that his title would be "President of the Dade County Junior College and Director of Junior Colleges of Dade County."[3] The School Board and

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[1] Interview with Paul Scott, Chairman, Miami-Dade Junior College Advisory Committee, January 2, 1964.

[2] No applicant voiced objections (Roberts interview).

[3] Interview with Kenneth R. Williams, former President, Dade County Junior College, November 5, 1963.

Advisory Board made it clear to him that there would be only one person under the Superintendent in complete charge of the junior college program. Williams was selected as the first president and began, early in 1960, to assemble an administrative staff for the college.

Selection of a person to serve as head of the separate junior college center for Negroes, to be located at Northwestern High School, had to be made with great care.[1] It was recognized by all members of the School Board, the Administrative Staff, and the Advisory Board that the Northwestern Center would be in service only a short while as a racially-segregated center. There was unanimous agreement among the bodies that racial integration of the college would take place gradually but surely during the first years of operation and that Northwestern Center would eventually close.[2] Knowledge of the temporary nature of the position militated against the School Board's seeking an outside qualified educator to serve as Dean of the Northwestern branch. Accordingly, David Dobbs, formerly principal of a Negro high school, was chosen. He was already in the employ of the Dade County system, and could be placed back in the system when his services were no longer needed at the college.[3] Dobbs understood from the first that he would serve as administrative head of the Northwestern Center only as long as that center remained racially-segregated.[1] When the School Board confirmed the appointment of Dobbs as Dean of Northwestern, the following notation was included: "It is understood that . . . Mr. Dobbs is appointed on a temporary basis, and will come up for review at the end of the first year's operation."[2]

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[1] The junior college campus on the school farm property at 1781 N. W. 95 Street was designated, "Central Center"; the branch for Negro students at 7007 N. W. 12 Avenue was designated, "Northwestern Center" (Minutes of the meeting, February 19, 1960, Dade County Junior College Advisory Committee).

[2] All members of the Dade County Board of Public Instruction, the Board Administrative Staff and the Junior College Advisory Board interviewed in connection with this study were in agreement on this point.

[3] Roberts, Usina and Wolfson interviews.

Student and Faculty Interchange

Duties of the Florida junior college president included his serving as secretary to the local junior college advisory board.[3] State Board of Education regulations direct that the advisory boards meet "at least once each quarter." President Williams suggested, at the first meeting of the Dade County Board held after approval of his appointment as president, that, "during the formative months, the Committee meet once a month."[4] Also discussed at that meeting was the two-campus plan and the manner in which students would be assigned to classes at each center. It was decided that the policy on admissions to be communicated to all junior college staff personnel would be that "the existing laws relative to pupil assignment would also apply to junior college."[1]

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[1] Interview with David Dobbs, former Administrative Dean of Northwestern Center, Dade County Junior College, October 17, 1963.

[2] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, March 16, 1960. Two other positions on President Williams' staff were filled by persons from within the county system; administrative posts went to persons recruited elsewhere in all other instances.

[3] Community College Council, p. 46.

[4] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Junior College Advisory Committee, February 19, 1960.

At the first meeting with the Advisory Board and at subsequent meetings with the County Administrative Staff, Williams and the School Board members "realized that there would be some question, if not an official court test" regarding the two campus plan.[2] The junior college president and the Staff and Board members were in agreement that the strategy to which they had best adhere was, "Negro pupils would be assigned to Northwestern Center but we were not going to penalize anyone assigned there who had need for courses not offered there."[3] It was apparent, even in early spring, 1960, that enrollment at the Northwestern Center would not be great enough to justify the offering of the full range of courses which were to be given at the Central Center.[4] All concerned agreed that, by allowing Negro students to take part of their work at the Central Center, litigation on the charge of racial segregation might be avoided and gradual integration of the student body could take place.[5]

Another point on which the policy makers agreed was "if integration is necessary to accomodate Negro students in special programs, it should take place as quietly as possible."[6] They were of the opinion that premature publicity of the plan to allow some Negro students to attend classes at the Central Center would be undesirable. Persons or groups in the community who were in favor of immediate integration in the public schools might charge the School Board with perpetuating segregation. Persons or groups who were in favor of continued segregation might charge that the two campuses were a ruse designed to promote speedy integration. School Board members were "pretty well assured of the fact that as long as it [integration at the junior college] proceeded gradually and intelligently" there would be no difficulty from outsiders;[1] still, the decision to "just do it and not talk about it" was considered the best way to avoid adverse criticism from persons favoring or opposing racial integration in the schools.[2]

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[1] Ibid. The laws of 1955 and 1956 which had "authorized and directed" the county school boards to assign pupils to the schools to which they were "suited" had given "full and complete" authority for determining pupils' suitability to the local boards (Florida, Statutes Annotated [1961], sec. 230.232).

[2] Williams interview, November 5, 1963.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Junior College Advisory Committee, June 8, 1960.

President Williams and the members of his administrative staff whom he organised into an "Administrative Cabinet" met weekly through the spring and summer of 1960 preparing for the opening of the college on the two designated centers in September.[3] They publicised the college programs in visits to each area high school and requested applications from potential students. Students who were accepted for admission to the college were notified by letter of their room assignment, address of building, and hour for taking the entrance examination. Negro applicants were directed to report to "7007 N. W. 12 Avenue.

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[1] Roberts interview.

[2] Meyers interview.

[3] Minutes of the meetings, Dade County Junior College Administrative Cabinet, 1960-1962 (in the office of the Dean of Student Personnel, Miami-Dade Junior College).

Miami"; white applicants were sent a letter directing them to "1781 N. W. 95 Street, Miami."[1] Negro students were being sent to Northwestern Center and white students to Central Center but, for both groups, the name of the center to which the student was assigned was omitted from his acceptance letter.

President Williams reiterated the hopes of the School Board and the Advisory Board that whatever integration took place during the first year would be handled as quietly as possible.[2] He also discussed with his Cabinet the problem of the generally low level of academic achievement in the group of Negro students expected to attend the college. The Cabinet decided to make certain adjustments in grading standards between the two centers; texts and tests were to be the same but, except for "A" and "B" grades, the curve was to be "considerably easier for the Negro student."[3] The administrators were aware that, for the great majority of the Negro students, direct competition with white students for grades would put the Negroes at a disadvantage. They were afraid that, if all grades were issued on the basis of college-wide competition, the college would "lose them [Negro students] in great numbers and not really serve them well."[4]

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[1] Ibid., May 27, 1960. [2] Williams interview, November 5, 1963.

[3] Interview with Charles Walker, Dean of Student Personnel, Miami-Dade Junior College, December 30, 1963. To make an "A" or "B", students in classes at the Northwestern Center would have to score as highly on departmental examinations as students making "A" or "B" at Central but "C" and "D" grades would be easier to attain at Northwestern (Letter from Gordon B. Pyle, January 20, 1964).

[4] Williams interview, November 5, 1963.

The worst fears held by school officials of the difference in level of achievement between white and Negro students were borne out by results of the entrance examination. The Cooperative School and College Ability Test Form I-A was taken by 751 white and 106 Negro students. National norms for the test had been established on freshman students at approximately 100 colleges and universities with the median in 1960 being the percentile band 42-55. Scores on the test given at the junior college revealed that the median student in the Central Center (white) group had a percentile band spread of 37-48; this compared favorably with the national group. The highest quartile at Central Center was in a percentile band of 62-71 compared to a percentile band of 68-80 for the national group--also a favorable comparison. The results of the test administered to the Negro students, however, were quite different. Whereas the median at Central Center was in the band 37-48, at Northwestern Center it was from 2-5. The highest quartile on the test given at Northwestern Center was in the 7-12 percentile range based on national norms. The lowest quartile at Central Center was in a percentile band of 25-32, considerably higher than the highest 25 per cent at Northwestern Center.[1] It was clear from the results of the test that the decision to create separate grading standards at the two centers had been well-advised. The tests had revealed an average ability level difference of approximately two and one half years between the groups of Negro and white students.[1]

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[1] All test score data is from an information bulletin supplied by the Dade County Junior College Administrative Staff to the Junior College Advisory Board (in the minutes of the meeting, October 12, 1960).

Initial enrollment of students taking courses for credit at the junior college totalled 1,200 white and 185 Negro students.[2] On the first day of registration, a Negro student and his parents requested of Dean Dobbs that the boy be allowed to register at Central.[3] Dobbs referred them to President Williams who explained that the boy would "have the opportunity of attending classes" at Central but that he should register at the Northwestern Center.[4] This procedure of requiring Negro students to register, attend orientation and assemblies and take achievement tests at Northwestern, but of allowing those who were qualified to take classes at Central, continued throughout the first year of operation of the college.[5] Seven Negro students did part of their work at the Central Center in the first semester and ten in the second semester.[6] The Negro students in attendance at Central Center during the first year were those who had "broken through on the tests" and scored at the median of the white students or higher.[7] A few white students asked to take night courses at the Northwestern

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[1] Memorandum from Gordon B. Pyle to Peter Masiko, Jr., September 11, 1962 (in the office of the Dean of Academic Studies, Miami-Dade Junior College). Unless otherwise noted, all memoranda referred to in subsequent notes are to be found in the same office.

[2] Dade County Junior College, "Enrollment Report, October, 1962."

[3] Dobbs interview. [4] Williams interview, November 5, 1963.

[5] Walker interview.

[6] Memorandum from Gordon B. Pyle to Professor Carol Zion, July 20, 1961.

[7] Williams interview, November 5, 1963.

Center because of its proximity to their homes but were told by the registrar that junior college policy directed that white students would take classes at Central Center as long as they were offered there.[1]

The problem of selecting a faculty to serve at Northwestern Center was one which had to be faced by the junior college administration before classes could begin. In May, 1960, Dean Dobbs of the Northwestern Center made a trip to Negro colleges throughout the South seeking to recruit teachers for the Northwestern branch.[2] Although Negro teachers who were qualified to join the faculty at the junior college were not easily found, a group of eleven was assembled.[3] Full time faculty positions at the Northwestern Center were filled by Negro teachers but it was much more difficult to staff part-time positions because of the scarcity of Negro teachers possessing Master's degrees and thirty-six semester hours of college work in their teaching fields.[4] Employment of a full time Negro instructor to teach courses which were to be offered in only one or two sections at the Northwestern Center was not economically feasible, therefore, "without making any great point of it," regularly-employed white teachers from the Central Center were sent to the Northwestern Center to offer sections in their subject areas.[5]

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[1] Walker interview.

[2] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Junior College Administrative Cabinet, May 18, 1960.

[3] Dobbs interview. [4] *Ibid.*

[5] Williams interview, November 5, 1963.

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The decision to send white teachers to the Northwestern Center grew out of conversations in meetings of the Administrative Cabinet at the junior college. Dean of Academic Studies Gordon B. Pyle discussed the problem with President Williams and other administrators and decided that, on a voluntary basis, white teachers would be sent to the Negro campus.[1] As the need for them developed, teachers in the appropriate academic division of the college were asked if they would like to go to the Northwestern Center to teach a section in their field to the Negro students. Only those teachers who indicated that they would like to do so were sent.[2] In the first two years of operation of the college, none of the Negro faculty members taught classes at the Central Center but it was planned that, when the campuses were fully integrated, the Negro teachers would be brought in and assigned on the same basis as white teachers.[3]

Phased Integration

Integration of the faculty and student body at the college took place only partially during the first two years. The administrative staff wanted to make it clear it "considered the faculty as a unit" and that, although the junior college was maintaining separate centers, equal educational opportunity under a united faculty was available at either campus.[1] Dean Dobbs, however, held separate meetings which the Negro faculty was expected to attend in addition to the general faculty meetings held at the Central Center.[2] Committee service was a joint faculty responsibility and representatives at large from the faculty were chosen to serve as needed.[3] Dobbs was instructed by President Williams to arrange parallel social functions for Negro faculty members to correspond with those affairs enjoyed by the white faculty.[4] Off-campus affairs remained segregated for the first two years, one reason being the fact that it was not easy to find accommodations suitable for racially-mixed gatherings.[5] At the inauguration of President Williams, however, held in Dade County Auditorium on November 18, 1960, the junior college faculty, students, and guests sat wherever they wished.[6]

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[1] Letter from Pyle, January 20, 1964. There were five white teachers at Northwestern in the first semester. (Pyle interview, February 14, 1964.) Twelve were teaching classes there by the following year. (Memorandum from Gordon B. Pyle to David Dobbs, September 11, 1961.)

[2] Kenneth R. Williams interview, November 5, 1963.

[3] Neither the decision to send white teachers to teach Negro students nor the decision, made during the third year of operation of the college, to have Negro instructors in white classes was in violation of any state regulations. A law which had stated that white teachers might not be employed to teach Negroes and that Negro teachers might not teach in white schools had been repealed in 1941 (Laws of Florida [1941], Vol. I, chap. 20970, sec. 15.)

A matter of concern to the junior college faculty and administrative staff during the first two years of operation was the wide difference in educational preparation between the groups of Negro students and white students.[1] In an effort to close the gap in academic achievement occasioned by the differences in backgrounds between the groups, Dean Pyle and other staff members attempted to install a multiphased program. Although grading standards were lower at the Northwestern Center than at the Central Center, they were still more difficult than those to which the Negro students, most of whom had come from racially-segregated high schools in the Miami area, were accustomed.[2] Counselors and faculty advisors at both centers informed students who scored poorly on the entrance test of the difference between their level of achievement and that of the median student at the junior college and "advised them, in most instances, to take a reduced load."[3] Reading improvement programs and a system of student tutorials were proposed and unofficially begun for the low-scoring students. Classes where Negro students studied under white teachers were offered at Northwestern Center and classes where the Negro students would be in competition with white students were available to them at the Central Center. The ultimate objective was, as Dean Pyle put it, "to close the gap so that no graduating student will have received a second-class education at Dade County Junior College."[4]

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[1] Williams interview, November 5, 1963.

[2] Letter from Pyle, January 20, 1964. Interview with Herbert Stallworth, former Dean of Administration, Dade County Junior College, October 17, 1963.

[3] Membership in the Student Activities Committee from its inception included Leon Robinson, a Negro professor. (Memorandum from Charles Walker to Gordon B. Pyle, September 13, 1962.)

[4] Dobbs interview. [5] Walker interview.

[6] Stallworth interview, January 28, 1964.

Before the end of the academic year 1960-1961, the staff at the junior college became aware that enrollment of Negroes in sophomore classes for the following school year was going to be quite small.[1] They realized that it would be "very difficult to work out an adequate program at economical cost for those students at Northwestern" and decided that, for the academic year 1961-1962, only freshman courses should be offered at the Northwestern Center.[2] President Williams mentioned this to Superintendent Hall and his staff who "saw no reason it could not be done."[3] Accordingly, all sophomore academic courses, all electives, and all pre-professional courses in the second year were offered at the Central Center only. Physical education classes, band, chorus and drama for Negro sophomores continued to be offered at Northwestern Center but Negro students took all other sophomore work at the Central Center where a single grading standard was in effect. Negro students at Central were urged to consult frequently with their instructors who explained the single grading standard and exhorted the students to work harder in the face of the increased competition.[4] The Northwestern campus, in the second year, was looked upon by the staff as a "way station" where the faculty might continue efforts to elevate the academic achievement level of the Negro freshmen. Fall, 1961, enrollment of Negro students included 72 sophomores taking all their academic classes at Central and 258 freshmen, 163 of whom attended one or more of their classes at the Central Center.[5]

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[1] Memorandum from Gordon B. Pyle to Kenneth R. Williams, September 13, 1961.

[2] Letter from Pyle, January 20, 1964.

[3] Memorandum from Pyle to Williams, September 13, 1961.

[4] *Ibid.*

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[1] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Junior College Administrative Cabinet, June 5, 1961.

[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Walker interview.

[5] Data compiled from student records at Miami-Dade Junior College.

During the second year, integration of the student body at Central Center showed a mixed pattern. First year registration at the Central Center took place in the gymnasium, orientation in the library; at Northwestern, orientation and registration both were held in the high school library.[1] In the second year, Negro students were required to register at Northwestern only if the majority of their classes were to be taken at the center;[2] orientation was held for all students at the same time at the Dade County Auditorium.[3] The library and cafeteria at Central were made available for use by the Negro students in the second year.[4]

Negroes held positions on the staff of the student newspaper (Falcon Times) from its inception in September, 1961.[5] Band and choral activities, however, remained segregated during the first two years. Also, during this period, Negro and white students elected separate student governments.[6] Athletic teams remained separate during the first two years with each center fielding its own intercollegiate basketball team.[7] During the second year, student assemblies were integrated but student social functions for Negroes continued to be held at Northwestern Center.[8] Negro sophomores were "encouraged to continue membership in the clubs at Northwestern" so that their "needed leadership" would not be lost.[1]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Letter from Pyle, January 20, 1964. [3] Walker interview.

[4] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Junior College Administrative Cabinet, June 5, 1961.

[5] Falcon Times, I, 2 (October 5, 1961). [6] Walker interview.

[7] Walker interview. Also reported in Falcon Times, I (1961-1962).

[8] Walker interview.

During the 1961-1962 school year, plans were made to coordinate and give official status to measures designed to help "underachievers." A "Guided Studies Program" was planned, not to be administered as a separate unit but as a downward extension of the regular college program.[2] Guided Studies would not replace, but would supplement, the "way station" at the Northwestern Center.[3] A program of guidance, special program advisement, reduced load, and tutoring would "further assist in the assimilation of Northwestern students" with reading, writing, and mathematics improvement plans included along with the special counseling techniques.[4]

The Guided Studies Program was designed not only to elevate the educational level of Negro students but also to help those white students who were in need of special attention.[5] All students scoring below 150 on the Florida Statewide Twelfth Grade Testing Program were to be required to enter the program. Those who scored between 150 and 200 and who failed to achieve satisfactory grade point averages under a thirteen hour reduced load program, and those who failed to achieve satisfactory grades while carrying a regular load, would be advised to enter the program.[1]

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[1] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Junior College Administrative Cabinet, June 5, 1961.

[2] *Ibid.*, November 28, 1961.

[3] Memorandum from Gordon B. Pyle to Kenneth R. Williams, August 16, 1961.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Junior College Administrative Cabinet, November 28, 1961.

Not only the Administrative Cabinet but all supervisory personnel down to the level of division chairman discussed, considered, and helped develop the Guided Studies Program.[2] The problem faced by the Staff was more than just the development of a special program for under-achievers. Racial integration of the college was proceeding during the second year through the admission of Negro students to Central Center for most of their sophomore work but the threat of being charged with an administrative "cut-off line . . . based on race" was still possible.[3] Admission of qualified Negro students to the Central Center and assignment of those unqualified, on the basis of test scores, to the Northwestern Center, where they would enter the Guided Studies Program, would be a way of treating Negro students differently from the way that white students were treated. The staff did not want it to seem as though putting Negroes into the Guided Studies Program at Northwestern and white students into Guided Studies at Central was discriminatory on the basis of race.[4] The latter problem never came to a head however because, during the year 1961-1962, while the program was still under development, plans for total integration of the college were also being made.

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Memorandum from Pyle to Williams, August 16, 1961.

[4] Matthews interview.

Summary

Integration at Miami-Dade Junior College during the first two years of operation of the college showed a mixed pattern. Negro students who wanted courses not offered at Northwestern Center were allowed to enroll at Central Center for part of their work. All academic courses for Negro sophomores were offered at Central Center during the 1961-1962 school year. White faculty members taught at the Negro center during the first two years. Some extra-curricular activities were integrated, others were not.

Plans for this phased integration were not formulated prior to the opening of the college. The college administrative staff, working closely with the County Administrative Staff and the Junior College Advisory Board devised policy to fit each problem in the integration process as it arose. A Guided Studies Program designed to help low achieving students was planned but not put into effect until 1962. In the latter year the two centers were combined on a new campus and full racial integration of the college was accomplished.

CHAPTER VI

COMBINING THE CENTERS

An acute shortage of space available for use by the junior college staff, faculty and students at the Central Center existed from the time the college began classes. The facilities of Miami Central High School and the portable buildings which had been moved onto the site were taxed to the limit by the second year junior college enrollment of 2,332 full-time and 1,212 part-time and adult non-credit students.[1] Although Negro freshman still attended classes at the Northwestern Center, Central Center facilities were "scheduled back-to-back in almost every room from 7:30 in the morning until 10:00 at night."[2]

Of the total school farm site of eighty acres, about twenty-one acres had been reserved for "vocational agriculture purposes" and twenty acres were "considered to be needed for the Miami Central High School."[3] There remained, after deduction for streets and a canal on the property, only thirty-two acres for junior college purposes. Facilities on the Central campus available for use by junior college personnel included eleven classrooms in the high school building, five portable classroom buildings, a "former agriculture building . . . converted for temporary faculty and administrative offices, and . . . a two-story masonry building renovated for a library."[1] Shops and laboratories of the high school were also used but were "insufficient to serve both high school and junior college students."[2]

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[1] Dade County Junior College, "Enrollment Report, October, 1962."

[2] Memorandum from Pyle to Williams, August 16, 1961.

[3] Dade County Junior College Facilities Survey, September, 1960 (Tallahassee: State Department of Education, 1960), p. 31.

Although the portion of the total site available for junior college use was acknowledged as being less than desirable in size for handling the projected enrollment of 4,350 day students for the year 1964-65,[3] a facilities survey recommended that five adjoining acres be secured and that construction be undertaken on permanent buildings to house the college.[4] Accordingly, plans were made, in the fall and winter of 1960, to construct junior college facilities at the Central Center and also, to build a structure "for a limited number of students" at the Northwestern center.[5] Need for additional space was so acute that, although only $1,427,929 was appropriated by the 1961 State Legislature for the buildings, Dade County diverted $1,061,696 from its own grades one through twelve funds so that construction of the proposed buildings could be completed.[6]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 8. [4] Ibid., p. 3.

[5] Ibid., p. 4. Also Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, November 2, 1960.

[6] Letter from Kenneth R. Williams to Robert Morgan, August 24, 1961 (in the office of Robert Morgan, Miami). This "K-12" money will be repaid from Dade County's portion of the first bonds sold under authorization of the Amendment to the Florida Constitution passed in November, 1963 (Hilgendorf interview). The main junior college building planned for construction at the Central Center was eventually built at the Masters Field campus.

Obtaining the New Site

Masters Field was a Naval Air Station built during World War II in Dade County just south of the City of Opa Locka and used, for a few years after the war, as a Naval Reserve Training Center. When the facility was deactivated, the Navy's jurisdiction over the property was transferred to the United States General Services Administration. Always seeking large parcels of land located near centers of population, the Dade County School Board immediately notified the General Services Administration that, if the property were declared surplus, the Board was desirous of gaining title to a portion of it.[1] At that time the Board was seeking a large site for an athletic stadium in the northerly part of the county and wanted to put it in Masters Field.[2] The Board also notified Fourth District Congressman Dante Fascell of its interest in the property.[3] Five years later, on September 29, 1961, the General Services Administration declared the airfield surplus and notified interested agencies of its intention to dispose of the property.[4] In the interim, the School Board had obtained a site for a stadium further north and had revised its petition for Masters Field saying that it needed a portion of it for a maintenance area and school bus compound.[5]

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[1] Letter from Dade County Board of Public Instruction to General Services Administration, October 19, 1956 (in the files of the Board).

[2] Interview with Robert Snyder, Assistant Superintendent for Physical Plant, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, January 3, 1964.

[3] Ibid. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid.

The General Services Administration disposes of surplus government lands through a system of priorities with private aviation interests heading the list.[1] When the Dade County Port Authority declared that it did not need the land for an airport, the Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare moved to the top on the priority list. Representatives from the Atlanta office of the latter department told members of the Dade County Schools Administrative Staff that, if they wanted to be considered as recipients of the property, they would have to again revise the application to show that the county needed the land for school use.[2] Showing justifiable need for the property as a school site would place the School Board highest on the priority list of the Health, Education and Welfare Department and would also qualify the Board to receive the land as a gift from the General Services Administration.[3]

The School Board and the Junior College Advisory Board, at a joint meeting held as soon as members learned that the Masters Field property was available, decided to ask for the property as a permanent site for the junior college.[4] A formal application justifying the need for the property as a junior college site had to be prepared quickly because private parties in the Miami area were also desirous of gaining title to the property.[5] Accordingly, many public and private agencies and officials cooperated in strengthening Dade County's bid: James Wattenbarger of the State Division of Community Junior Colleges submitted a formula for the board to use showing that, based on enrollment projections for the junior college, 240 acres would be needed;[1] the Department of Health, Education and Welfare made an official recommendation to the General Services Administration that the Dade County School Board be deeded the property;[2] the Dade County Planning Board agreed to alter plans for a projected automobile expressway so that it would not run through the property;[3] the Central and South Florida Flood Control District changed the location of a proposed canal so that it would not run through the desired property;[4] and the Seaboard Airline Railroad which had offered to trade a piece of its property in Jacksonville, Florida, for the same portion of Masters Field wanted by the School Board, agreed to accept a westerly portion of the tract.[5]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Interview with Frank Madison, Supervisor of Site Planning, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, January 3, 1964.

[3] Snyder interview.

[4] Dade County Board of Public Instruction, "Material Booklet for Submission to General Services Administration, October 26, 1961." (In the files of the Dade County Board of Public Instruction.)

[5] Madison interview.

On March 2, 1962, the Dade County School Board received title to 230 acres in the southeast corner of Masters Field. The property, bounded on the North by N. W. 119 Street, on the South by 105 Street, and on the East and West by N. W. 27 Avenue and 32 Avenue respectively, had an appraised value at the time of transfer of $2,813,503.[6] The Board paid only the fee for obtaining the appraisal for the 230 acres but bought an additional 14.83 acres from the General Services

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[1] "Material Booklet." [2] Ibid.

[3] Wolfson interview. In addition to his being a member of the Junior College Advisory Committee, Mr. Wolfson was a member of the Dade County Planning Board.

[4] Madison interview. [5] Scott interview. [6] Madison interview.

Administration in the northwest corner of the new junior college site.[1] Work was begun immediately on alteration for school use of some of the 43 Navy buildings which were on the property.[2]

Closing Northwestern Center

The fate of Northwestern Center was not a matter of particular concern to Board members during negotiations for the Masters Field property.[3] They had decided, however, at the time they applied for title to the property (October 28, 1961), that Central Center would be moved, as soon as possible, to the new site.[4] The size and availability of the property for use as a site for the junior college helped "change the thinking" of the School Board and Administrative Staff in the matter of number of junior college centers around the county.[5] When plans were being made for the opening of a junior college, six or more centers were anticipated eventually in various locations around the county, but when the 244 acres became available, the County Administrative Staff decided that "any number of students" might be served better in one center than in several.[6] It was recognized that library facilities would be stronger at one campus and that some programs, which would never enjoy large enrollments, could not be offered on more than one campus anyway.[7]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Falcon Times, I, 10 (March 15, 1962).

[3] Snyder interview. [4] Falcon Times, I, 5 (November 22, 1961).

[5] Hilgendorf interview.

[6] Hall interview. [7] Ibid. Also Wolfson interview.

The future status of Northwestern Center remained in doubt throughout the spring and summer of 1962. President Williams appointed an ad hoc committee on April 17 of that year to study the problems involved in closing the center and "to get the feeling of the college staff on whether the move should be made immediately."[1] Dean Pyle chaired the group which was "charged with responsibility for studying such factors as present and projected enrollment, class size, duplication of facilities, transportation, and numbers of and utilization of Northwestern faculty members, and to develop a firm recommendation concerning the continuance or dissolution of a separate center at Northwestern."[2] The committee met on April 19.[3] Among problems discussed were the limitation of physical space at Northwestern, the matter of what would happen to the Negro faculty, whether social functions and athletic participations would be integrated, and whether or not the distance which Negro students would have to travel to get to the new campus area would create a hardship for them.[4] The committee found that the following advantages would accrue to the college if Northwestern were closed: crowding of Negro junior college students on the high school campus would be eliminated; guidance and advisement facilities and personnel could better be used; administration of the college would be more economical; the shuttle bus system between the campuses could be eliminated; and the proposed Guided Studies Program could be implemented in a more satisfactory manner.[1] Admission and registration procedures were seen as remaining the same as they were "totally integrated already"; "no significant problems" were expected with the student body.[2] Most importantly, the committee felt that "the change to an integrated status could be brought about most smoothly if it is just one change among many others which will occur when we move to the new campus."[3] The eleven member committee, in a secret ballot taken at the April 19 meeting, voted as follows: eight voted to "integrate when moving to Masters Field, Fall, 1962"; two voted to "integrate when opening of permanent building A, 1963"; one voted not to integrate at all.[4]

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[1] Williams interview, January 10, 1964.

[2] Memorandum from Kenneth R. Williams to Gordon B. Pyle, *et al.*, April 17, 1962.

[3] Memorandum from Gordon B. Pyle to the Administrative Cabinet, April 25, 1962.

[4] *Ibid.*

President Williams presented a copy of the memorandum relating the committee's recommendations to the Junior College Advisory Board.[5] He also reported the committee's recommendations to the County Administrative Staff during May, 1962.[6] The Advisory Board did not fully discuss the Committee's recommendations "because of the necessity of choosing a college president to replace President Williams who had been appointed to the presidency of Florida Atlantic University" and left unanswered the question of when and how to close the Northwestern Center to the County Administrative Staff and the junior college administrators.[7]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

[5] Williams interview, January 10, 1964. [6] Ibid.

[7] Gordon B. Pyle, "Report on Northwestern Center," September 1, 1962 (in the office of the Dean of Academic Studies, Miami-Dade Junior College). (Typewritten.) Substantiated by Meyers.

A second committee, representing the County administration and the junior college staff met in July to make specific recommendations concerning the transition to the Masters Field campus.[1] Members of the county staff were particularly concerned about the disposition of the Negro faculty members if the Northwestern Center were closed completely and recommended that they be reassigned "to other schools on a full or part-time basis."[2] In opposition, junior college staff members "expressed a preference for bringing some of the Northwestern faculty to the white center."[3] Disposition of the Northwestern faculty became the main point of concern in the committee meetings.

Due to the press of vacation schedules for college staff members and the impending arrival of the new president, Peter Masiko, Jr., the issue was stalemated through the month of August. When President Masiko arrived, he decided to wait until the opening of the semester to see what the enrollment at Northwestern would be before coming to a decision on the fate of the center.[4] During registration week, when it became apparent that not more than forty or forty-five students would be attending classes at Northwestern, President Masiko called a meeting of his staff and representatives from the county staff.[5] At that meeting, held on the first day of classes, the decision to close Northwestern Center permanently was made.

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[1] Memorandum from W. W. Matthews to Joe Hall, et al., August 1, 1962.

[2] Pyle, "Report on Northwestern Center."

[3] Ibid. This preference had been expressed by the ad hoc committee in April.

[4] Interview with Peter Masiko, Jr., President, Miami-Dade Junior College, January 10, 1964.

[5] Letter from Gordon B. Pyle, February 13, 1964.

The Negro Faculty

At the time the 1962 first semester began, there were eleven Negro faculty members on the Junior College Staff.[1] They had been told, at the end of the summer session, that those remaining exclusively with the college in the fall would be relegated "to teaching only the basic study program at Northwestern Center."[2] Those teachers for whom this assignment would not constitute a full load, would be required to teach classes in Northwestern High School in addition to junior college classes.[3] The alternative to acceptance of assignment to "basic studies" and high school work was reassignment elsewhere in the county system. These choices came as a bitter blow to those faculty members who were "highly competent" and able to do full time college work but, "coming right at the end of the summer session," they had no choice but to accept.[4]

As soon as the decision to close the center was made, Dean Pyle met with the Negro faculty members and officially informed them of the fact. Following this general meeting, he met with each of them individually "to discuss their particular situation."[5] With the exception of one who wished to remain at the high school, all who were offered positions at the new campus "graciously accepted."[1] Seven of the eleven teachers were assigned to the Masters Field campus; the other four were absorbed elsewhere into the county public school system.[2]

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[1] Masiko interview, January 10, 1964.

[2] Pyle, "Report on Northwestern Center." Basic studies was the term used to refer to the remedial courses offered to the lesser qualified students.

[3] Memorandum from Matthews to Hall et al., August 1, 1962.

[4] Pyle, "Report on Northwestern Center."

[5] Memorandum from Gordon B. Pyle to Wesley W. Matthews, September 13, 1962.

On September 14, 1962, Dean Pyle held another meeting with the seven faculty members along with several division chairman and other college teachers.[3] Dean Pyle explained that "social mores made it absolutely necessary to place a definite limit upon the employment of the Negro faculty."[4] The Negroes were not at any time to be placed in charge of a class or laboratory group but were always to appear "in the capacity of assistant."[5] Except for specific duties to be communicated to each of the Negro faculty members, no other assignments were to be given them without the prior approval of the dean.

In a separate memorandum to each of the seven Negroes, Dean Pyle outlined their specific duties; they were assigned to work in student activities,[6] admissions,[7] the administration office,[8] and student advisement.[9] Other duties assigned them to helping with chores in departmental offices. The reason given them for this procedure was that it would "get the students used to seeing them around, and get them familiar with the procedures" at the college.[1] President Masiko explained to them that, as the semester had already started, if they were to be assigned classes of their own, it would have meant taking over-load sections away from white teachers and "could have led to bitterness" on the part of the latter who would thereupon lose overtime pay.[2] Full time equivalent enrollment at the college in February, 1963 was higher than it had been the previous September and it was "no problem" to give the Negro teachers classes of their own at that time.[3]

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[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid. Also Masiko interview, January 10, 1964.

[3] Gordon B. Pyle, "Conference Concerning Employment of Negro Faculty," September 14, 1962. (In the office of the Dean of Academic Studies, Miami-Dade Junior College.) (Typewritten.)

[4] Ibid. [5] Ibid.

[6] Memorandum from Gordon B. Pyle to Leon Robinson, Professor, Miami-Dade Junior College, September 19, 1962.

[7] Memorandum from Gordon B. Pyle to Rubye Duron, Professor, Miami-Dade Junior College, September 19, 1962.

[8] Memorandum from Gordon B. Pyle to Raymon Thornton, Professor, Miami-Dade Junior College, September 19, 1962.

[9] Memorandum from Gordon B. Pyle to Howard Carter, Professor, Miami-Dade Junior College, September 19, 1962.

Toward the end of the 1962-1963 school year, Dean Pyle asked each of the Negro faculty members for a statement of their experiences during that year at the college.[4] He specifically requested information about any "class incidents, campus incidents or social incidents."[5] The answers he received included favorable comments regarding the way the integration of the faculty had been carried out by the college administrative staff. The Negro faculty members reported no major incidents in the classroom or on the campus. Those who had been assigned to classes as substitute teachers during the first semester and those who had been given classes of their own during the second semester reported that they had been well received by the students.[1] They stated that, for the most part, their white colleagues had been cordial and helpful.[2] The integration of the faculty in the 1962-1963 school year was achieved without untoward incident just as the integration of the student body had been accomplished two years previously.

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[1] Masiko interview, January 10, 1964. [2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid. Six of the seven Negro faculty members were still at the college in the spring of 1964.

[4] Memorandum from Gordon B. Pyle to all Negro faculty, May 14, 1963.

[5] Ibid.

Present Status

The increase in enrollment at the junior college after the move to the new campus was phenomenal--from a college-level enrollment of 5,735 in 1962-63, the number of full and part-time students nearly doubled to a total of 11,061 in the year following. The total number of students of all classifications more than doubled in that same year--there were 6,138 students on the rolls of the junior college in fall, 1962 and 12,383 one year later.[3] Based on total number of college level enrollments and average daily attendance, nearly one in four students enrolled in Florida public junior colleges in the 1963-1964 school year was in attendance at Miami-Dade.[4] The college had as many students on its campus as there had been in sixteen junior colleges in ten districts in the state of Florida five years earlier.[5]

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[1] Memoranda from Professors Howard Carter, Mary L. King, Carrie P. Davis, Leon Robinson, and Robert Thomas to Gordon B. Pyle, May and June, 1963.

[2] Ibid.

[3] "Report of Enrollment, Florida Junior Colleges, 1963-1964."

[4] Ibid.

[5] Florida State Junior College Advisory Board, Five Years of Progress (Tallahassee: State Board of Education, 1963), p. 14.

Despite the tremendous increase in the total number of students attending Miami-Dade Junior College, the number of Negro students did not increase appreciably between the first year of operation and the spring of 1964. An "educated guess" at that date put the total between 200 and 220 enrolled in college-level courses.[1] Of those who have taken advantage of the availability of the college, the number who have stayed has been low. There were 395 different Negro students in attendance at some time during the first four semesters; 207 of these were no longer in attendance at the end of the fourth semester.[2] Only 17 of the original group of 185 who entered in September, 1960, graduated in the first graduating class.[3]

The total number of Negro students at the college at any one time changed hardly at all between 1960 and 1964. Those who were in attendance during the latter year, however, were expected to contribute a larger per cent of their number to the 1965 graduating class.[4] The per cent of Negro high school graduates in Dade County who have gone on to higher education has "more than doubled" since the junior college opened but it is still far below that of the white students.[5]

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[1] Letter from Norma Schudy, Secretary to the President, Miami-Dade Junior College, February 18, 1964. Student records have not been classified as to race since the end of the 1960-1961 school year.

[2] Data compiled from student records in the Office of the Dean of Student Personnel, Miami-Dade Junior College. Dropout rate is roughly double that of white students for the same period (Walker interview).

[3] Data compiled from student records.

[4] Walker interview.

[5] Matthews interview.

A Diploma of Graduation program was introduced in the Spring of 1963 offering a certificate in lieu of a degree to those students who earn 60 or more hours of college credit with a 1.5 grade point average or better.[1] The diploma is awarded to those students completing the Guided Studies program. Guided Studies remains in effect as evidence of the efforts made by the college staff toward helping all students to obtain education to the limit of their abilities. All students who wish to transfer to senior institutions after leaving Miami-Dade are advised to follow a planned program within the area of academic studies and work toward the Associate in Arts degree; an Associate in Science degree is offered to students completing two year programs in technical areas.[2]

Racial integration in all phases of the educational program, the athletic program, and social programs at the junior college became complete during the 1962-1963 academic year. The coach of the college basketball team, in Orlando for a game with Orlando Junior College on February 12, 1963, was asked to bench the four Negro players which he had brought for the contest.[3] He did but President Masiko announced, "Next year the college will field its best team in every contest. If there are Negroes on those teams and other schools refuse to play them, that will be that. We won't leave our Negro players at home."[4] This has been school policy since his announcement. Within the college, drama groups, clubs, and the school music groups make no distinction among their members on the basis of race.[1]

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[1] *Falcon Times*, II, 10 (March 29, 1963). A 2.0 average is required of a student if he wishes to qualify for an Associates degree.

[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

In addition to the schools, many other public facilities in Dade County were desegregated in the five years 1959 to 1963. Parks, golf courses and public beaches are open to Negroes along with theatres and many formerly segregated restaurants and hotels.[2] By the beginning of the 1963 school year "about forty schools" in Dade County had Negro and white pupils attending class together.[3] On June 5, 1963, Chairman of the School Board Jane Roberts announced that the Dade County schools were "an integrated system" and that henceforth teachers would be hired on their merits to work in any of the more than 200 schools in the county.[4]

The Greater Miami Urban League, a professional social work agency dedicated to the elimination of discrimination in all forms of community life, presented its annual Equal Opportunity Day award to Miami-Dade Junior College on November 24, 1962.[5] The award was given for progress in race relations in the field of education, specifically "in honor of significant strides the College has made in integrating the student body and faculty."[6]

In March, 1963 the full integration of Negro students and faculty members at the junior college was given favorable treatment in an article in *The Miami Herald*.[1] The story outlined the phased integration process at the college and called it "one of the most strikingly successful--and unsung--dramas of desegregation in the South."[2] An even more descriptive comment was made by one of the Negro faculty members who stated, "Miami-Dade Junior College has integrated with Brother Gabriel and his trumpet being left out of the picture."[3]

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[1] Walker interview. Kasiko interview, January 10, 1964.

[2] Wolfson interview. [3] Gordon interview. [4] Roberts interview.

[5] Letter from Gordon B. Pyle, February 13, 1964.

[6] Letter from James W. Whitehead, Executive Director, Greater Miami Urban League, January 23, 1964.

Summary

In September, 1962 the junior college began classes on the Masters Field campus. Central Center and Northwestern Center were closed. Seven Negro faculty members moved to the new campus along with the white faculty and all the students from both centers. The complete integration of Miami-Dade Junior College was achieved. Racial integration in many other areas of Miami life followed in the ensuing years.

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[1] Pete Mann, "Dade Junior College Blazes the Trail on Integration," *The Miami Herald*, March 11, 1963.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Memorandum from Professor Robert Thomas to Gordon B. Pyle, June 6, 1963.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY: RELATING THE CONCEPTS

In Chapter I of this study, three concepts dealing with organizational behavior were related to administrative procedure in the plans for the opening and operation of a junior college in Dade County. These concepts dealt with methods of formulation of organizational goals and policies, communication procedures, and extent of individual cooperation in furthering the policies of the Dade County school system. A review of studies of school systems which were faced with the necessity of taking action on racial integration revealed that, in some cases, policy designed to accomplish the goals of integration was determined in association with other community organizations but in others, the school boards formulated policy on their own. Clear definition of policy and communication to the groups in the system was seen as essential; cooperation by all members of the organization was also shown to be necessary.

In this chapter, the method of policy formulation is examined for the purpose of showing that members of the Dade County School Board and Administrative Staff, in their plans for the junior college, had no formal contact with other groups in the community or in the state. Goals of the Dade County system and policy to achieve these goals were formulated entirely within the system with outsiders having influence only incidentally and informally, if at all.

The system established for the efficient communication of all decisions made within the scope of the phased integration policy is described. This communication network was designed to insure cooperation of all persons within the system in order to insure that organizational goals might be accomplished.

Policy Formulation

The public agencies charged with formulating operating policies for junior colleges in the state of Florida are the local county boards of public instruction. They operate within certain restrictions and guidelines set forth by the State Department of Education through the State Junior College Board and the Division of Community Junior Colleges within the Department. All of these agencies, in turn, depend upon the Florida legislature which establishes general restrictions in the Florida statutes and appropriates funds for capital outlay and operation of the public school system. Members of county boards of public instruction are elected; the superintendent of public instruction in some counties is elected--in others he is appointed to office by the school board.[1] He serves as executive secretary to the school board and as director of the county administrative staff.

The prime movers in the idea of a junior college for Dade County were Superintendent of Public Instruction Joe Hall and School Board member Anne Brenner Meyers. Their names appear repeatedly in minutes of School Board meetings as they submitted memoranda, introduced resolutions, and generally spoke favorably of the idea of a junior college. Mrs. Meyers was appointed as the first liaison member from the School Board to the Junior College Advisory Committee and has served continuously in that post. The junior college became an area "of special interest" to her beginning with the occasion of her attending a meeting of President Eisenhower's Committee on Education Beyond the High School early in 1957.[1] Mrs. Meyers worked for the junior college because she felt that students who could not afford the expense of attending the University of Miami should have the opportunity of attending college locally.[2] She argued repeatedly in School Board meetings and elsewhere that Dade County could afford to pay its portion of the operating budget of the junior college and that local support of the University of Miami would not be lessened when the college opened.[3]

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[1] A constitutional amendment of 1955 authorized the appointment of the superintendent of public instruction in Dade County (Florida Constitution, art. 2, sec. 2).

Superintendent Joe Hall advocated the establishment of a junior college in administrative staff meetings and encouraged Board members [illegible] college. [illegible] that inasmuch as Dade County contributes more than 20 per cent of the tax revenue of the state, its citizens should receive the benefit of the expenditure of state funds which go to the support of junior colleges. Hall worked to get the support law revised in the 1957 legislature so that Dade County would not "be required to make a financial effort to support the junior college of more than 50 per cent of the total cost."[1] If this change had not been effected, Dade County would not have received funds from the state for at least the first two years of operation of the college.[2] Due primarily to the leadership exercised by Superintendent Hall and Mrs. Meyers, a goal of the Dade County School Board and Administrative Staff became the opening of a junior college which would provide educational opportunity beyond the high school for all of the people of the county.

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[1] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County School Board, January 7, 1959.

[2] Meyers interview.

[3] *Ibid.* Substantiated in interviews with Sloane, Wolfson and Van Dusen and in minutes of the meetings, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, 1957-1959.

At the same time that policy toward the achievement of that goal was being formulated, the School Board and Staff were concerned with the general problem of racial integration in the schools. Dade County schools were segregated at the time when plans for the junior college were being made but school officials knew that racial integration in the system would have to be undertaken within a very short time; the "trend" was clearly in that direction.[3] An admissions suite was being pursued in Federal court; segregation in the schools could be successfully defended no longer. Thus, a second goal of Dade County officials in the latter 1950's became the orderly transition of the public schools into a racially-integrated system.[4] A policy had to be devised for the achievement of the goal of a junior college for Dade County which would enhance (or at least not conflict with) the general goal of racial integration of the schools.

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[1] Florida, Statutes Annotated (1957), sec. 230.48.

[2] Hilgendorf interview.

[3] Hall interview.

[4] This goal was achieved in 1963 (Southern School News, Vol. IX [July, 1963]).

Superintendent Hall, in association with other members of the County Administrative Staff, determined that the surest way to achieve the goal of a junior college within the limitations imposed by state laws, federal court decisions, and community desires as he saw them, was to open a single junior college which would serve white and Negro students alike but, temporarily, on separate campuses.[1] He discussed the idea with Board members individually but official action which would have committed the School Board to the two-campus plan was not taken until after the Junior College Advisory Board had been appointed and a junior college president selected.[2]

The unique idea of a single college with separate campuses for white and Negro students was not determined at a given time but was developed during the three years of discussions among Board and staff members which preceded the first official reference to the plan. The two-campus plan became a policy by which the goal of a junior college would be achieved and by which racial integration in the county school system would be furthered. The policy and the reasoning behind its determination were known to all School Board and Staff members. Advisory Board members were told of the plan at the time they were contacted regarding their appointments.[1] Kenneth Williams learned of it during his initial interview for the position of president of the college. Not until Advisory Board members and President Williams had expressed approval of the plan did it become a policy to which the School Board was firmly committed.[2]

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[1] Hall, Gordon, Matthews and Roberts interviews. Reason for this determination are offered in Chapter III.

[2] The first reference in minutes of School Board meetings to the two-campus one-college plan came on March 2, 1960 when the junior college centers were mentioned by name and notation was made to the effect "that additional centers will be established and become operational" in the future (Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, March 2, 1960).

Dade County school officials received no direction from the state on the formulation of the two-campus plan. The statutes providing for establishment and operation of junior colleges made no reference to the number of centers which might be opened but provided only that "not more than one junior college for white students and one for Negro students . . . be established in any county."[3] The Community College Council study, in its recommendation that junior college areas not be smaller than other school administrative units, recognized that, "in the larger and more populous counties this may imply one or more branches of a single junior college," [illegible] local concern." The Director of the Division of Community Junior Colleges of the State Department of Education, James L. Wattenbarger, notified Superintendent Hall and his staff, upon hearing of the two-campus idea, that it was their decision to make. Accordingly, formulation of the policy was undertaken entirely in Dade County.

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[1] Scott, Usina and Wolfson interviews.

[2] Meyers and Matthews interviews.

[3] Laws of Florida, 1947, Vol. I, chap. 23726, sec. 242.41.

Community groups in Miami were not consulted by school officials about the two-campus plan. Any persons in the community who might have become aware of the policy which was being formulated would have learned this in private consultations with school officials. The plan was hardly mentioned in any of the local news media; no persons or groups outside of the school system were formally asked for approval. No mention of the two-campus plan was made to the persons, clubs, and business firms in Dade County from whom endorsements of a junior college were solicited in 1957 and 1958.[1]

This failure to consult community leaders in Miami or to publicize the manner in which the college was to be opened was not a unique policy devised by school officials to suit the planning for the junior college. On most matters of policy, if any consultation with persons or groups in the community is undertaken, it is done privately and unofficially. Dade County School Board members are of the opinion that they occupy positions of leadership and are expected to lead. They [illegible] people of the community depend on them to do what is best for the education of Dade County children.

Members believe that the community does not expect to be appraised in advance of all measures taken by the Board. This belief of Board members that they are expected to determine policy for the school system without outside consultation was made apparent by their statements to the effect: "we are a policy-making board under the law; we don't call a referendum every time we have a decision to make; we are expected to make decisions";[1] "the Board relies on its own perceptions in most matters";[2] "if we went to the community and asked people to vote on every step we take, this would be chaos; the community depends on us."[3]

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[1] "Revised Brief," Vol. III. Also Morgan interview.

Dade County School Board members are particularly careful that school policies do not become matters of local political controversy. They feel that they and their staff are aware of community needs and know best how to set policy for the schools so that these needs will be met.[4] Premature publicity of policy decisions, they feel, could lead to misunderstanding and undesirable reaction from persons who might not be aware of the way certain policies enhance the general goals of the school system.

In the absence of specific legislative direction, representatives at any level of government must themselves decide which issues to put to the electorate for approval. All matters cannot reasonably be decided in referendums or in public meetings; officials must often take respon- [illegible] certain that it can be justified to the satisfaction of their constituents. If their decisions are too much at variance with the temper of their communities, they will be criticized and possibly called to account at the polls.

The goals of a junior college and of racial integration came into being simultaneously in Dade County in the latter 1950's. The two-campus policy under which the junior college was to open was calculated to advance the school system toward both these goals in a manner which would avoid opposition from persons within or without the system. The policy was formulated and clearly defined by officials within the school system; community groups in Miami were not consulted. School officials received no adverse criticism of the phased integration at the junior college.[1]

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[1] Meyers interview. [2] Gordon interview. [3] Roberts interview.

[4] "The School Board had its fingers on the pulse of the community" (Butler interview).

Communication

The two-campus plan as a policy designed to implement the goals of the Dade County School system was settled before a junior college president was appointed but the particular decisions which had to be made regarding disposition of student and faculty at the college were not specifically noted in advance. These decisions--of allowing Negro students to attend classes at Central Center, of sending white faculty members to the Northwestern Center, and, eventually, of combining the centers--were made, as need for them appeared, in accordance with the overall goal of orderly integration of the college. Two steps were taken to insure that this goal would not be thwarted--great care was made in the selection of personnel to staff the college and a system to facilitate rapid and complete communication between the county system and the junior college was established.

All persons being interviewed for positions on the junior college staff were asked whether they would have any objection to working in a college which included a Negro branch. This question was asked of Dr. Williams in his initial interview for the position as president; he in turn asked it of the administrators whom he hired.[1] The academic dean asked every faculty member he interviewed for employment, "'Would you object to teaching in an integrated classroom situation?'"[2] In this manner, all persons became aware of the integration goal at the time of their employment.

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[1] All persons interviewed in connection with this study were in agreement on this point.

The second precaution taken to insure the cooperation of all persons within the junior college system was the complete communication of each step in the integration process. Each decision was checked with persons at all levels as it was made. President Williams organized his staff into an administrative cabinet so that he would have his own "advisory board" and so that all decisions affecting the operation of the college would be clearly communicated to all staff and faculty members. Composition of the cabinet included all deans, the registrar, [illegible][3] [illegible] of cabinet meetings were circulated to all members of the cabinet. Faculty representatives were expected to discuss proceedings with their fellows,[4] and in addition, a bi-weekly faculty bulletin was mimeographed and distributed to all faculty members. Meetings of the cabinet were held weekly beginning in the spring of 1960 and continuing throughout Williams' tenure as president of the college. The divisional chairmen also held weekly meetings in order to "tackle problems as they came up."[1] Beginning in the fall of 1961, these meetings included department heads every other week; minutes of the meetings were circulated to all of the faculty.[2]

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[1] Williams interview, November 5, 1963. Stallworth interview, October 15, 1963.

[2] Letter from Gordon B. Pyle, February 13, 1964.

[3] Minutes of the meetings, Dade County Junior College Administrative Cabinet, 1960-1962.

[4] Interview with Betsy L. Mann, Former Staff Assistant to the President, Dade County Junior College, January 7, 1964.

The County Administrative Staff held regular weekly meetings with Superintendent Hall presiding;[3] President Williams or one of his designated deans attended these meetings regularly.[4] In addition, President Williams "did not hesitate to pick up the phone and call Joe Hall" to get his advice on any matters which might come up during the week.[5] No pre-arranged order of precedence dictated that the County staff learn first of questions which might arise regarding implementation of the phased integration policy. "By preference only," President Williams usually spoke to that group before presenting his prob- [illegible][6]

The Junior College Advisory Board held monthly meetings with Superintendent Hall, two members of the School Board, and President

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[1] Letter from Pyle, February 13, 1964. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Matthews and Hilgendorf interviews.

[4] Stallworth interview, October 17, 1963. Also Matthews and Mann interviews.

[5] Stallworth interview, October 17, 1963. Corroborated in Williams interview, November 5, 1963.

[6] Gordon interview.

Williams in attendance.[1] The junior college president circulated an advance agenda of topics for discussion to Advisory Board members and furnished them with information bulletins which afforded them "more information about the college than could be digested."[2] Minutes of each meeting of the Advisory Board were recorded and copies submitted to the School Board.[3]

The chart on the following page depicts how this formal organization within the school system was well suited for the free flow of communication. At least two School Board members, the superintendent and the college president appeared regularly at Advisory Board meetings; President Williams or one of his deans attended all meetings of the County Administrative Staff; the Administrative Cabinet meetings and the weekly meetings of the chairmen of the academic programs facilitated communication to the junior college faculty.

Each decision dealing with the phased integration at the college during the first two years of its operation was communicated all the [illegible] Board, the Advisory Board, the County staff, and the college staff and faculty were made aware of each problem as the necessity for specific action arose.

After the opening of the junior college on separate campuses

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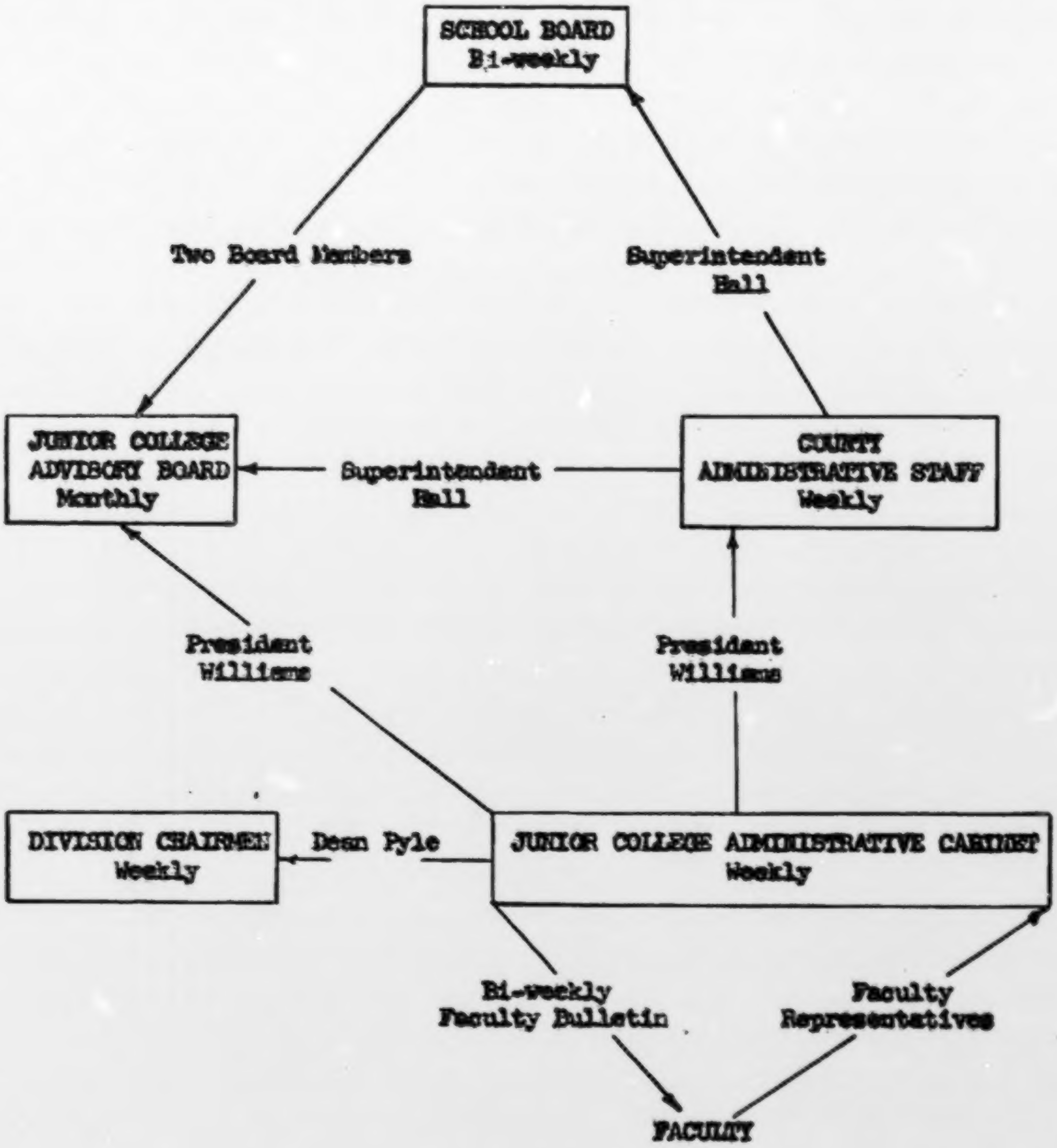
[1] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Junior College Advisory Committee, February 19, 1960.

[2] Usina interview.

[3] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, November 4, 1959.

MEETINGS IN THE DADE COUNTY BOARD OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION - JUNIOR COLLEGE SYSTEM


SCHOOL BOARD
Bi-weekly
Two Board Members
Superintendent Hall
JUNIOR COLLEGE ADVISORY BOARD
Monthly
Superintendent Hall
COUNTY ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF
Weekly
President Williams
President Williams
DIVISION CHAIRMEN
Weekly
Dean Pyle
JUNIOR COLLEGE ADMINISTRATIVE CABINET
Weekly
Bi-weekly Faculty Bulletin
Faculty Representatives
FACULTY

was assured, the goal of a junior college was achieved. The two-campus policy was thereupon amended to provide for phased integration within the college itself. Phased integration became a policy designed to implement the following goals: orderly transition of the schools into an integrated system; educational opportunity beyond the high school for all who could profit thereby; and the general growth of the junior college.

The phased integration policy was developed during the spring and summer of 1960 in meetings of the groups in the School Board--Junior College system. Many of the decisions made under the policy of phased integration did not appear in minutes of the meetings of any of the groups because they were determined informally in conversations among the members.[1] The decisions to allow Negro students to attend classes at the Central Center, to send white faculty members to the Northwestern Center, to close the Northwestern Center, and to bring several of the Negro faculty members to the Masters Field campus were communicated informally [illegible] the groups as they were made. The flow of communication regarding each step in the implementation of the policy was as complete as necessary to insure that all persons were aware of the decisions made to solve problems as they arose. The methods of solving particular problems is described in the following paragraphs.

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[1] Minutes of the meetings, Dade County Board of Public Instruction, 1959-1962; minutes of the meetings, Dade County Junior College Advisory Committee, 1959-1962; minutes of the meetings, Dade County Junior College Administrative Cabinet, 1960-1962. There are no minutes kept of the meetings of the County Administrative Staff (Letter from Frank Sloane, January 23, 1964).

The state laws of 1955 and 1956, which had assigned authority for the placement of pupils in schools to the county board of public instruction, gave the people in the Dade County system the opportunity of making plans for phased integration of the students at the junior college. The statute includes the words: "The authority of each such board in the matter of the enrollment of pupils in the public schools shall be full and complete."[1] President Williams and Superintendent Hall discussed the possibility of allowing Negro students to take courses at the Central Center if there were not enough demand for these courses to warrant their being offered at the Northwestern Center.[2] They introduced the question at the first meeting of the Advisory Board held after Williams' appointment as president in order to determine the reaction of that committee.[3] Members of the Advisory Board announced that they had no objection to Negroes attending Central Center as long as they were qualified to meet the academic standards prevailing there.[4] Accordingly, notation to the effect that "existing laws relative to [illegible] assignment [illegible] apply to junior college" was made in the minutes of the meeting and Williams was told that, at his and Hall's discretion, Negro students might be assigned to classes at Central Center.[5]

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[1] Florida, Statutes Annotated (1961), sec. 230.232.

[2] Hall interview. Williams interview, November 5, 1963.

[3] Roberts interview.

[4] Ibid. Also Scott and Wolfson interviews.

[5] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Junior College Advisory Committee, February 19, 1960.

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School Board members Meyers and Roberts who attended that meeting of the Advisory Board agreed that the pupil assignment law under which the school system was operating could be extended.[1] The School Board did not formally discuss the matter; members learned of the integration plans informally.[2] Similarly members of the Administrative Cabinet at the junior college were not asked to take formal action on the proposal. They did, however, discuss and agree among themselves that all Negro students, including those attending classes at the Central Center, should register at the Northwestern Center and attend orientation and assemblies there.[3]

The junior college staff was also "given a free hand in working out details" regarding the sending of white faculty members to teach at the Northwestern Center.[4] At a meeting of the Advisory Board, President Williams pointed out that although he would "have a common faculty for the Dade County Junior College, Negro instructional staff would be assigned to Northwest and white to Central."[5] He had discussed the idea with Hall the [illegible] [illegible] member Roberts prior to the meeting.[6] Advisory

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[1] Roberts interview.

[2] "Dr. Hall called me about it." (Butler interview.) There is no mention of the plan in minutes of School Board meetings.

[3] Stallworth interview, October 17, 1963. Also Walker interview.

[4] Walker interview.

[5] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Junior College Advisory Committee, June 8, 1960.

[6] Roberts interview.

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Board members agreed that in all cases where Negro teachers could not be found for part-time work at the Northwestern Center, white faculty members should be sent.[1]

Neither the School Board nor the Advisory Board took formal action on the decision which was formulated in June, 1961, to offer sophomore courses at the Central Center only. That plan originated in a meeting of the Administrative Cabinet and was mentioned only to Superintendent Hall and his staff who "saw no reason it could not be done."[2] Matters dealing with the extent of integration of campus facilities were communicated to the County Administrative Staff but were not regarded as being of sufficient import to include on the agenda of Advisory Board meetings. For example, no one discussed the matter with Board members,[3] but permission to dine in the Miami Central High School cafeteria during junior college lunch periods was given to Negro students by the Administrative Cabinet beginning in fall, 1961.[4]

Faculty members learned of the details of the integration plans [illegible] meetings, work shops, and briefing sessions.[1] Enthusiasm in favor of the plans was high--at the time the Negro faculty members were moved to the Masters Field campus and assigned to roles as assistants, Dean Pyle had to warn department chairmen and other white faculty members that they should not "undertake on their own any experiments to see how far they might get by with the use of their Negro faculty."[2]

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[1] Scott and Usina interviews.

[2] Minutes of the meeting, Dade County Junior College Administrative Cabinet, June 5, 1961.

[3] Scott, Usina, and Wolfson interviews.

[4] Memorandum from Kenneth R. Williams to members of the Administrative Cabinet, August 31, 1961 (reprinted in minutes of the meetings, Dade County Junior College Administrative Cabinet).

Communication links between the college staff, the Advisory Board, and the County Administrative staff, both formal and informal, were adequate to insure that confusion or misinterpretation of the steps to be taken in the phased integration process did not occur. The closest point at which the system threatened to break down was during the summer of 1962 after President Williams had left to accept his post as President of Florida Atlantic University and before President Masiko took up his duties at the junior college. President Williams had taken steps to prepare for the closing of the Northwestern Center but he left before the Advisory Board had had a chance to decide on the matter of [illegible] situation was stalemated."[3] Status of the Negro teachers remained in doubt until the beginning of the fall semester. Not until that day (September 13, 1962) did those teachers know where they would be working during that school year. Ultimately, the only damage caused by the delay was the anxiety it occasioned among the Negro faculty.

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[1] Letter from Gordon B. Pyle, January 20, 1964. Interview with David Harris, Professor, Miami-Dade Junior College, January 4, 1964. Interview with James Pait, Professor, Miami-Dade Junior College, January 4, 1964.

[2] Pyle, "Conference Concerning Employment of Negro Faculty."

[3] Letter from Gordon B. Pyle, February 13, 1964.

The goal of a junior college for Dade County was clearly defined by the Board of Public Instruction and communicated to all the people of Miami. The Citizens Advisory Committee and city news media publicized the fact that a plan for the opening of a college was being formulated in the years 1957 to 1960.[1] The two-campus and phased integration plans as policies designed to further the goal were clearly known to all persons within the school system. These plans were not, however, publicized in the community because of the undesired attention given in the press to the Orchard Villa desegregation attempt in 1959.[2] The Miami Herald carried two small articles on the two-campus plan prior to the opening of the college and a note to the effect that seven Negro students were attending classes at Central Center during the first month of operation of the college.[3] Most of the newspaper coverage of the planning and first years of operation of the college was, however, de-

and the need for space. A full treatment of the formulation and ends of the phased integration policy was made in The Miami Herald after all of the integration procedure had been fulfilled.[1] At no time was any widespread public criticism made known to persons in the school system.

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[1] Letter from Roland W. Dopson, News Department Administrator, The Miami Herald, February 20, 1964; Morgan and Weintraub interviews.

[2] No attempt was made to suppress the news but persons in the school system wanted integration "to be a reality before everyone in town became aware of it" (Matthews interview). Corroborated in Butler, Koehler, Meyers, and Roberts interviews.

[3] The Miami Herald, January 14, 1960, August 23, 1960, September 29, 1960.

Precautions against the phased integration plans being thwarted through misinterpretation were taken by informing college personnel in advance of their employment of the policy under which the college was to operate and by communicating each step taken to all persons in the system. The plan was a success partly because it was clearly defined and communicated but primarily because all persons in the system wanted it to succeed. Determination of individual motivation was not a part of this study but it seems that, to a large extent, the organizational objectives of the Dade County school system were incorporated into the attitudes of all individual participants in the system.

The success of the phased integration plan at Miami-Dade Junior College in helping achieve the goals of the system is a credit to all persons having a share in formulation and administration of the policy. Responsible Southern leaders during the years after the Supreme Court [illegible] forward and make plans for the orderly transition of the schools. Governor Leroy Collins stated, "We are confronted with a great need in our state to act intelligently and reasonably" in one of his pleas for local initiative in "settling problems of integration."[2] Dade County,

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[1] Pete Mann story, March 11, 1963.

[2] Radio-television address by Leroy Collins, March 20, 1960 (reprinted in United States News and World Report, XLVIII, April 4, 1960), 86-89.

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as represented by the administrators of its schools, met the Governor's challenge with the phased integration of Miami-Dade Junior College.

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